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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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P. 238, ll. 6 and 7 from bottom, for *Çṛ Çṛ*, read *Çrī Çrī.*
239, „ 9 and 10 „ *Çṛ Çṛ*, „ *Çrī Çrī.*
244 and 245, for every *Cṛ* read *Çrī.*
309, l. 22, from top, for *harēndē*, read *karēndē.*
„ l. 3, from bottom, for *suṇ̃di* „ *suṇi.*
313, l. 10, „ *āyosē* „ *āyōsē.*
„ l. 9, „ *āyovē* „ *āyōvē.*
„ l. 8, „ *āyõ hẽ* „ *āyõhẽ.*
323, l. 5, from top for *hāuj* „ *hā.*
327, l. 13, „ *hō* „ *hun.*
329, l. 23, „ *asāḍē* „ *assāḍē.*
„ „ „ *salã̄* „ *salām.*
363, l. 17, from bottom for *māry-va* „ *māryu-va.*

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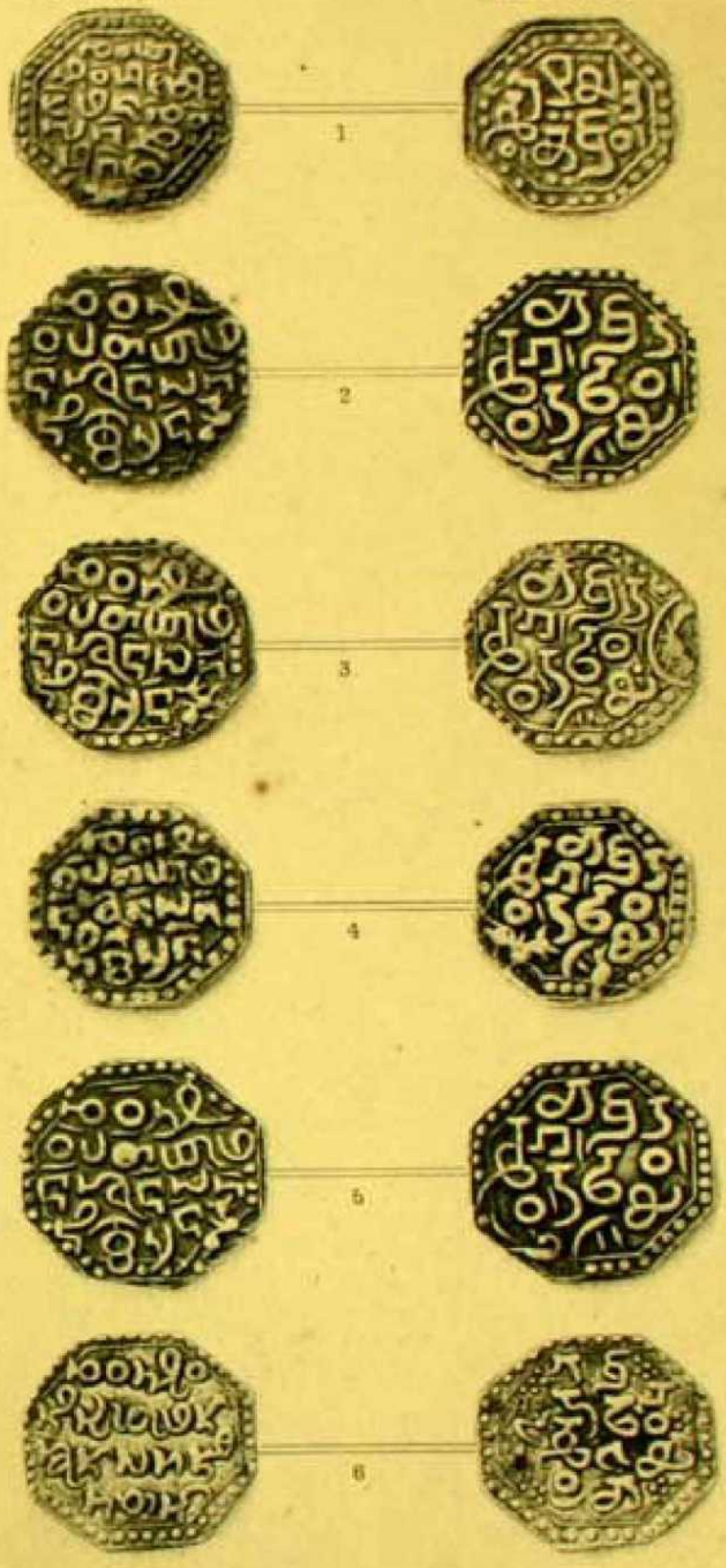

AHOM COINS.

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ERRATA.

P. 238, ll. 6 and 7 from bottom, for *Çṛ Çṛ*, read *Çrī Çrī.*
239, „ 9 and 10 „ *Çṛ Çṛ*, „ *Çrī Çrī.*
244 and 245, for every *Cṛ* read *Çrī.*
309, l. 22, from top, for *harēndē*, read *karēndē*
„ l. 3, from bottom, for *suṇdi* „ *suṇi.*
313, l. 10, „ *āyosē* „ *āyōsē.*
„ l. 9, „ *āyovē* „ *āyōvē.*
„ l. 8, „ *āyõ hē* „ *āyõhē.*
323, l. 5, from top for *hāuj* „ *hā.*
327, l. 13, „ *hō* „ *hun.*
329, l. 23, „ *asāḍḍē* „ *assāḍḍē.*
„ „ „ *salã* „ *salām.*
363, l. 17, from bottom for *māry-va* „ *māryu-va.*

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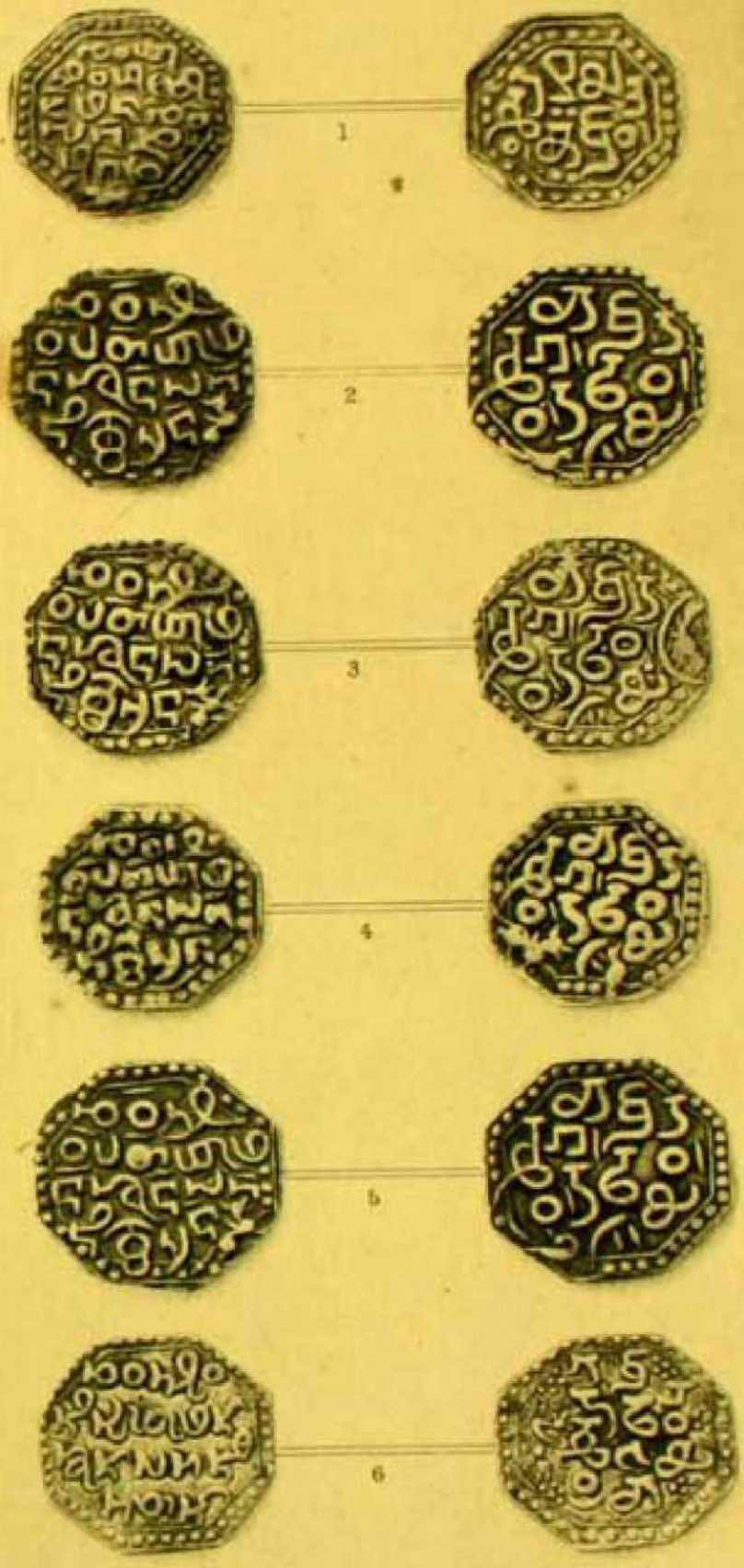

AHOM COINS.

Photo-etching Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1895.

Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DĒVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛ*, ॠ *ṝ*, ऌ *ḷ* ॡ *ḹ*, ए *ē*, ओ *ō*, ऐ *ai*, औ *au*, ं *ṁ*, ँ ˜ : *ḥ*

क *k*,	ख *kh*,	ग *g*,	घ *gh*,	ङ *ṅ*
च *c*,	छ *ch*,	ज *j*,	झ *jh*,	ञ *ñ*
ट *ṭ*,	ठ *ṭh*,	ड *ḍ*,	ढ *ḍh*,	ण *ṇ*
त *t*,	थ *th*,	द *d*,	ध *dh*,	न *n*
प *p*,	फ *ph*,	ब *b*,	भ *bh*,	म *m*
य *y*,	र *r*,	ल *l*,	व *v*,	(ळ *ḷ*)
श *ç*,	ष *ṣ*,	स *s*,	ह *h*.	

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ड़ may be represented by *ṛ*, and ढ़ by *ṛh*.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सो ऽपि *sō 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *ḥ*, *Jihvāmūlīya* by *ḫ*, and *Upadhmānīya* by *ḭ*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *ṁ*, thus संसर्ग *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ˜ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ã̄*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ´ and the *svarita* by ˆ. Thus, अग्निः *agníḥ*, जनिता *janitā́*, क्व *kvá*, कन्या *kanyā́*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ˋ. Thus, ते अवर्धन्त *tḗ àvardhanta*.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(*The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries*) :—

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
ا a	ب b	بھ bh
آ ā	پ p	پھ ph
ا i	ت t	تھ th
ای ī		ٹ ṭ
ے ē		ٹھ ṭh
ا u	ث ṡ	
او ū	ج j	جھ jh
و ō	چ c	چھ ch

Vowels.		Consonants.		Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.	
اَیْ	ai	ح	ḥ		
اَوْ	au	خ	kh		
		د	d	ڈ	dh
				ڈ̣	ḍ
				ڈ̣ھ	ḍh
		ذ	z		
		ر	r	ڑ	ṛ
				ڑھ	ṛh
		ز	z		
		ژ	zh		
		س	s		
		ش	sh		
		ص	ṣ		
		ض	ẓ		
		ط	ṭ		
		ظ	ẓ		
		ع	‘		
		غ	gh		
		ف	f		
		ق	q		
		ک	k	کھ	kh
		گ	g	گھ	gh
		ل	l		
		م	m		
		ن	n		
		ں	when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva Nāgarī, by ˜ on the preceding vowel		
		و	w (or rarely v)		
		ہ	h		
		ی	y		
		Hamzah	’ (where necessary)		

The ل of the article ال in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولہ Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n*–e. g., *ittifāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final ہ need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1895.

On changes in the course of the Kusī River, and the probable dangers arising from them.[1]—*By* F. A. Shillingford.

With a Map.

[Read, February, 1895.]

Introduction.

For several years past the Kusī, or Kōsī, river has been attracting much attention owing to the sudden shift of its main channel on the borders of Nepal whereby a considerable volume of its flood waters has been thrown eastwards, over tracts of country in the District of Purneah and Dinajpur, not previously subjected to its floods, in recent years, and it seems not improbable that some unusual change in the course of this erratic river is likely to occur in the immediate future. The writer having lived nearly all his life in Purneah, visiting the banks of the Kusī, from the Nepal mountains to its junction with the Ganges, constantly, for work, or in search of sport, has had exceptional opportunities of watching the lesser as well as the more general changes of that river occurring within the last 25 years. During the rainy season of 1893, when severe floods were occurring up in the north of the District,

[1] [With reference to this paper, readers are referred to the discussion recorded in the Proceedings of the Society for February 1895, in which the propriety of certain of the author's conclusions as regards the physical aspect of the case are seriously impugned. Ed.]

the author deemed it his duty to place the crude notes he had made, during a series of years, regarding the movements of the Kusī, and upon which this paper is chiefly founded, before Government, so as to help as a guide in case of danger, and if his efforts are now successful in drawing attention to this important and interesting subject, his labors will be amply rewarded. The theories that this paper is intended to elucidate are:—

(1) That the main channel of the Kusī river oscillates (in its general sense) over a vast tract of country, from the Brahmaputra to the Gaṇḍak rivers, having practically Catrā Gaddī (Chatra Gaddi of the maps), in Nepal, as its centre, or pivot of oscillation, and that these oscillations are repeated at long intervals of time.

(2) That the westward movement of each oscillation is slow, and in a series of steps, each of which is attended with damage to property, but of a temporary nature.

(3) That the eastward movement of any given oscillation will probably be accomplished in one great swing, and will be accompanied with loss of life and property, with remoter dangers of a serious nature.

(4) That the detritus, resulting from the sub-aerial denudation of the Himālayas, brought down by the rivers, and thrown upon the Indo-Gangetic Plain can be held accountable for these movements of the Kusī and other rivers similarly situated.

Probable ancient reference to the Kusi.

The Kusī, or Kōsī, called in old Sanskrit works Kauçikā, is probably the river Cos Soanas (Sankōs, in Nepal) mentioned by Arrian in his *De Indicis* (*Chap. IV.*) on the authority of Megasthenes, as being one of the navigable tributaries of the Ganges.

Falls of the Kusi at Catra.

The Kusī debouches, or rather leaps, into the Indo-Gangetic Plain in about Lat. 87 ° E. Long. 27 ° N. at Barāh Chatra, below which the magnificent falls occur, where, as is usual with all large rivers held sacred in India, there are numerous Hindū shrines, one of the most celebrated being that devoted to Mahāmāyā, situated just above the falls, which occur between Catrā Gaddī, to which boats can go up, and Barāh Chatra, about 5 miles higher up, the latter named after the Varāha, or Boar *Avatār* of Viṣṇu, to whose shrine here pilgrimages are made. For some miles below Catrā Gaddī, undulating country, interspersed with alluvial tracts, is to be met with, until the Belkar Range of hills (marked incorrectly the Sooroongah Hills in Survey Maps of 1840–47) is passed, about 20 miles below the falls, and then the wide alluvial plains may be said to begin.

Above Barāh Chatra the main stream of the Kusī is called the

San Kusī, or Sankōs, *i.e.*, united Kusī, which runs nearly East and West, and into this the other six rivers constituting the *Sapta Kauçikā* of Sanskrit works, flow in as tributaries from the North. These are, beginning from the East (1) the Tambar, or Tamrā; (2) the Aran, or Eran; (3) the Dūdh Kusī; (4) the Likhu Kōsī; (5) the Tambā Kusī; (6) the Bhotiā Kōsī. According to the most recent maps, the Tambar, called in its higher reaches the Kambachen, drains the western slopes of the snow-covered portion of the Kanchinjinga (28,176 ft.) spur, containing the high peaks of Janu, 25,304 ft., and Kabru 24,015 ft., and has its source in the snowy peaks of Chutangla, in the main ridge of the Himālayas, whose southern drainage it also receives from the Kanglachin, and the neighbourhood of the Tipta-la Passes. The Aran drains the eastern and northern slopes of Everest, 29,002 ft., and its attendant snowy peaks, and piercing the main chain of the mountains takes its rise in the further snows of Tibet; both these tributaries meet the San Kusī just above Barāh Chatra. The Dūdh, Likhu, and Tambā Kusīs carry down the drainage of the southern face of the Everest and Chumlang (24,020 ft.) blocks of snows, whilst the Bhotiā Kusī penetrates the main range, and rises in Tibet, draining the eastern slopes of the Gosainthan, 26,305 ft., and Dyabang, 23,762 ft. The San Kusī itself has its source on the southern face of Dyabang, beyond Katmāṇḍu. Standing near any one of the rest-houses on the great Singalīla range, the most elevated spur thrown out southward from the main range, in this portion of the Himālayas, the crest of which forms a portion of the western boundary of British Sikhim, and looking westwards and northwards, one cannot help being struck with the vast extent of the work of denudation performed by the Sapta Kusī, in carving out the huge valleys and rugged gorges which stretch in a series of stupendous waves as far as the eye can reach, over a region of mountainous country, extending from Kanchinjinga to beyond Katmāṇḍu, and from the alluvial plains of Bengal to the further chain of the Himālayas, forming the southern watershed of the Brahmaputra,—a tract of country 200 miles long by 150 miles wide, containing the two highest mountain peaks in the world, with their attendant masses of perpetual snow. Thus the Kusī drains a larger tract of the Himālayas and delivers a greater volume of water as it debouches into the plains than any other stream on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, between the Brahmaputra and the Panjāb rivers.

The Sapta Kaucikā.

The Singalīla spur, as continued from the main range through Kanchinjinga, Kabru, Singalīla, Phalut, Tonglu, Goom, Senchal, Mahalderam, and ending at Sivok, on the Tistā, forms in Bengal,

Watershed between the Ganges and Brahmaputra, in Bengal.

at the present time the watershed between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and Mr. Mallet in his Memoir, "On the Geology of the Darjeeling District,"[1] remarks, "the Mahanuddy and the Teesta flow into the plains in the debateable ground where, under sub-deltaic conditions, a constant struggle is going on between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra as they approach each other from the West and from the East, across the great plain to the south of the mountains, early in the century the Teesta was a tributary of the Ganges."[2]

Before proceeding further it is necessary to preface future remarks by rather long extracts from the writings of previous observers, so far as they can be ascertained, on the changes in the course of the Kusi.

Dr. B. Hamilton's views.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who visited Purneah (1807-11) says,[3] "I have already mentioned a tradition which states that the Kusi, on reaching the plains instead of running almost directly south to join the Ganges, as it does at present, formerly proceeded from Catrā to the eastward, and joined the Ganges far below, and many old channels are still shewn by the populace as having been formerly occupied by its immense stream, and are still called *Būṛhī*, the old, or *Marā*, the dead Kōsi. The change seems to have been very gradual and to be in a measure still going on." Further on he says, that "the Pandits inhabiting its banks allege that in times of remote antiquity the Kusi passed southward by where Tājpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges;" and lower down he states, "the opinion seems highly probable, I think it not unlikely, that the great lakes North and East from Māldah are remains of the Kusi united to the Mahananda, and that on the junction of the former river with the Ganges the united mass of water opened up the passage now called the Padma, and the old channel of the Bhāgīrathī from Songti to Nadiyā was then left comparatively dry."

Mr. Fergusson's views.

Mr. James Fergusson, F. R. S.[4] says, "The first river to feel the effect of the tilting backward of the plane of the Ganges by the elevation of the land at Rajmehal was the Coosy, as the nearest to the delta, the consequence is that when Rennell surveyed Purneah, he saw and recorded in his

[1] Memoir Geo. Survey India, Vol. XI, Part 1. 1874.

[2] This is a mistake, the Tistā deserted the Ganges and joined the Brahmaputra, as is well known, in August 1787.

[3] Eastern India (from MSS. of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton): by R. Montgomery Martin, Vol. III, page 15.

[4] On recent changes in the Delta of the Ganges. Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc., London, Vol. XIX, 1863.

Memoir in the Philosophical Transactions (Vol. LXXI, p. 87) as well as in his letters that, the Coosy had at no distant date flowed past the station of Purneah and joined the Ganges 45 miles further down than its present junction." Then he quotes the extract from Buchanan Hamilton given above, about its being highly probable that the Kusi went away eastward to join the Brahmaputra, and adds, "Indeed an attentive study of the successive changes that have taken place renders this almost certain, and it is probable that the Oorasagar is the mouth by which the combined waters of the Coosy, the Mahanuddee and the Atree were originally discharged into the Assam river," *i.e.*, the present Brahmaputra.

Dr. W. Hunter's views.

Dr. W. W. Hunter in his statistical account of Bengal[1] writes: "The Kusi is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, the dangerous and uncertain nature of its bed, and chiefly for its constant westerly movement;" and further on he explains this westerly movement by saying, "Within historical times, that is, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, we have evidence that this river (the Kusi) passed below the town of Purneah and then due south to the Ganges. It has since then worked across 25 miles of country till at present it forms the western boundary of the District * * * where the original bed of the Kōsi was, it is impossible to state." Then referring to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's theory of the eastward channel of the Kusi quoted above, he says, "Dr. Buchanan's suggestion of the union with the Brahmaputra seems less improbable than other parts of his theory. The course of the Brahmaputra appears in early days to have run far to the East of the District of Maimansingh. The Kusi also in its eastward course would first meet the Karatōyā, then a vast river having the Atrai and Tistā for its affluents. In my account of the district of Bogra, I have mentioned the very great importance of this river during early Hindū times, both on account of its great volume and its sanctity, and I have stated that it marks an ethnical frontier clearly defined to the present day. If we assume that the Kusi and the Mahananda formerly joined the Karatōyā, we have at once an explanation of the great size the latter river once undoubtedly had, and we shall also be able to account for the process by which the great sandy plain was built up between the Barendra of Rajshahi and the Madhupur jungle of Maimansingh, through which the Brahmaputra made its way at the beginning of this century. The ethnical frontier

Karatoya, a large river in early Hindu times.

[1] Statistical account of Bengal, Purneah, 1877.

which begins to be uncertain in Dinajpur District will be completed by adopting the above course for the Kusī. On the left bank we shall have the Koch peoples still found in such numbers in the Kissengunge Subdivision of Purneah District and in the North of Dinajpur, on the same side of the river would be the kingdoms of Kirāṭ, Kichak, and Kāmrūp. The presence of a great river in the South of Dinajpur would also account for the success with which the Ruler or Hākim, as he was called, of that country resisted the arms of the Musalmān sovereigns of Gauṛ. The ancient name of the Kusī and the one by which it is still known in Sanscrit books is Kauçikā. It is interesting to observe that a river nymph of this name is known if not worshipped on the banks of the Karatōyā. The bed of the river about three or four centuries ago seems to be marked by the line which divides the parganas which down to the present day, preserve their agricultural records under the Bengali or Faṣlī or Bihārī eras. It is well known that these systems of computation of time are founded on the Musalmān Calendar, and like it date from the Hijra or flight of Muḥammad from Mecca. These systems came generally in use into the present District of Purneah about A. D. 1600. If the supposition be correct that the Kusī formed the boundary between the tracts in which they were in use then, the course of that river passed East of the town of Purneah and through the Police division of Manihārī, before it fell into the Ganges."

Marks an ethnical frontier.

Probably formed a barrier to Muhammadan conquest.

Probable direction of the Kusi, about A. D. 1600.

In addition to the above supposed (though highly probable) courses of the Kusī indicated by Drs. Buchanan Hamilton and W. W. Hunter, we have the following authentic channels of former Kusīs known in history or in modern times, *viz.*, beginning from the easternmost.

Various beds of the Kusi.

(1.) The Kālī or Kārī Kusī known in its upper reaches as the Kamlā and in Nepal as the Kajlī or Kajrī flowing about a mile to the west of the Civil Station of Purneah. The name *Kālī* (black or dark) as applied to this river is from the curious fact that this is the only one of the abandoned channels of the Kusī which carried dark limpid waters until 1889, when an inrush of muddy water came into it and gave rise to enquiries being made as to its cause, which has led up to the recent orders of Government to have the country surveyed. The clearness of its waters is conspicuous also in Nepal causing moss-like water weeds (Kajlī) to grow

The Kâli Kusi.

in the rocks and boulders in its stream, hence its name Kajlī or Kajrī in the North, the natives, as noticed by Dr. B. Hamilton, being unable to distinguish between the sound of the letters *l* and *r*. This was the main Kusī in 1731, forming at that time the western boundary of the district and in that year, according to Hunter, Nawāb Saif Khān, of Purneah, crossed the Kusī and by gaining the battle of Bīrnagar over Bīr Shāh of that place, acquired the parganas of Dharampur, Gorāri, Nathpur and Dhapahar and added them to Purneah, and it is along the eastern boundaries of these very parganas that this river at present flows. This Kusī probably joined the Ganges near Manihārī at that time, to the East of Bhawānīpur, the last village in the south-east corner of Dharampur, though an older bed still existing joined the Kalindrī at Hayatpur in Māldah.

The Dhāmdāhā Kusi, 1807–11.

(2.) The Dhāmdāhā Kusī known higher up as the Pheriānī and a branch of it as the Binaniā, this is described and shown in his map as the main Kusī by Dr. B. Hamilton in 1807–11. It flowed between Dēbīgañj station on the A. B. S. R. and Nāthpur, and to the East of Dhāmdāhā Thānā and joined the Ganges near Kārāgōlā. Between the Kālī and Dhāmdāhā Kusīs there is another well defined channel called in its upper reaches the Livarī, and lower down the Barāṇḍī, which must have been occupied by the main Kusī waters between the years 1731 and 1807, but no records can be found of the exact years.

The Hiran Kusi, 1840–47.

(3). The Hiran main Kusī of the Revenue Survey Maps of 1840–47 flowed to the West of Dhāmdāhā Thānā, and about the year 1870 began to throw off branches into the Ḍaus swamps which became the main Kusī in 1873, and flowed into the Ganges opposite Patharghaṭṭā.

The Ḍaus Kusi, 1873–93.

(4). The Ḍaus the main Kusī from 1873 to 1893. In the Survey Maps of 1840–47 the Ḍaus swamps in places show an outline similar to the abandoned bed of the Dhāmdāhā Kusī shown to the eastward, and marked the "old bed of the Kusī." This Kusī flowed into the Ghagrī river.

The Loran Kusi since 1893.

(5.) The Lōran, into which the Kusī began to throw in offshoots in 1891, has become the main Kusī since 1893 (inclusive), and still carries the bulk of its waters.

It is important to bear in mind that the name "Kusī" is applied generally to any river that may carry the bulk of its waters for the time being; but locally, the original river, which it has adopted as its course, still retains its name, such as Hiran, Ḍaus, Lōran, &c.

Other Rivers in North Bhagalpur, which show signs of having been

large rivers formerly, and which have their sources (except Talābā) in the neighbourhood of the detrital talus, at the debouchure of the Kusī into the plains, and whose courses, in their upper reaches have a westerly direction away from the banks of the Kusī, are, beginning from the East :—

Other Rivers in N. Bhagalpur, probably former beds of the Kusi.

(1.) The Parmān, or Parwān.
(2.) The Talābā.
(3.) The Ḍimrā.
(4.) The Tiljugā.

All of these rivers have probably been, at one time or another, the bed of the main Kusī, but whether they will be occupied again it is difficult to form an opinion. The detritus brought down by other rivers tends to raise the country by degrees, and each successive oscillation of the Kusī, if not controlled by artificial means, would probably have a limit farther to the Eastward.

Thus, we have the main waters of the Kusī, moving from the Kālī Kusī into the Dhāmdāhā Kusī, between the years 1731 to 1807, and then into the Hiran—an adjoining stream—between 1811 and 1840, and further, we have the Kusī waters occupying the Hiran for over 33 years, and the Ḍaus for exactly 20 years. As the Kusī, in its march westward, is traversing a higher lay of country in each successive shift, it appears probable that the duration of the occupation of each new channel to the west, will go on diminishing, and that, from analogy, we may infer that when the Easternmost Channel is re-opened, or re-occupied, it will hold the Kusī waters for some considerable length of time.

Probable Historical allusions to the Kusi, an Eastward Channel.

With regard to historical allusions to a probable Eastern Channel of the Kusī we have the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, on his way to Kāmarūpa (about A. D., 638), crossing a great river, which General Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, I. 1871, page 501) infers was the Tīstā, which is hardly a great river, nor is it likely to have been such in past times, looking at its restricted mountain drainage. Then the early Muḥammadan Sulṭāns of Bengal encountered a large river in their expeditions against Kāmrūp and Bhūtān, in the first half of the 13th Century,[1] and Ḥusain Shāh (1499-1520) also had to cross a large river on his way from Gaur to Kāmrūp. Dr. Hunter in his statistical account of Bogra, says, "Tradition, and the present condition of this District, and of Pabna and Rangpur, to the south and north, show that a great river did once flow

[1] Stewart's History of Bengal, 1813. Pages 46-66, Etc.

in or near the present bed of the Karatōyā, a river of such size that it gained a reputation for holiness, as we learn from the *Purāṇas*, scarcely second to the Ganges. To this day, the natives who live on the banks of the Karatōyā, say that their river is the old Brahmaputra. In M. Van den Brouck's Map of Bengal, which dates from about 1660, the Karatōyā is distinctly marked as a very great river, and as connected with the Brahmaputra." The theory about the Karatōyā being an old bed of the Brahmaputra could only apply to its lower reaches, and the evidence about its great sanctity, in ancient times, is not borne out by the present reputation of the latter river. The Kusī, or Kauçikā, is, on the other hand, invoked and worshipped by all Hindūs, especially those of Central Bengal, to this day.

Dr. Hunter's Kusi of remote times marked by areas of iron slag.

In support of the theory advanced by Dr. Hunter, that the Kusī of remote times broke away eastward, in part, along the present bed of the Parwān, or Panār (this river has a variety of names in different parts of its course), through the marshes of South Dināj-pur to join the Brahmaputra, we have the occurrence of large quantities of iron slag lying in patches, mostly along banks of rivers, all to the northward of this very ideal line the river is surmised to have taken, as far, at all events, as Tājpur Pargana. Near Forbesgañj Station, of the A.-B. S. R., several miles of the line is ballasted with iron slag obtained from near the banks of the Parwān. Again; from a point (43rd mile-post) a little north of where this river crosses the Ganges and Darjiling road, for about 50 miles north-ward, that road is metalled with iron slag found locally; and again, where the Dināj̃pur section of the A.-B. S. R. passes through Pargana Tājpur, we find the line ballasted with the same iron slag from Raigañj to Rādhikāpur. This iron slag abounds in many localities in the District, forming mounds in places, and being covered up with earth in others, but occur-ing only to the north of this ideal line. No indigenous iron ore being found in the District, it seems tolerably certain that it was brought down from the Nepal mountains along such rivers as were convenient for the purpose, and appearances indicate that, probably, there was a barrier beyond which the traffic did not extend, or else all traces of slag from these regions have been swept away or covered up. It seems not unnatural to suppose that such a barrier was a large river into which flowed the streams which brought down the iron-stone, in addition to that carried down its own channel, and that the hill men, who were probably the smelters, confined their operations to the safer side of the river. Then, when the Kusī flowed here, it would be in the palmy days of Gauṛ, whose demands for arms and ironware might have originated

and maintained these iron-works, which, there is evidence to show, were carried on, on an extensive scale.

As far as I can follow Dr. Hunter, the original course of the River as suggested by him, agrees in the main with that indicated by Dr. Hamilton as far as Tājpur Pargana, but from this point the former takes it along a more northerly course into the Karatōyā, whilst the latter takes it farther south into the marshes north and east of Māldah Station (the District did not exist in those days), and thence away to the Brahmaputra. Dr. Hunter's theory seems the more likely of the two, as being based on some evidence and it will be shown lower that these "great lakes, north and east of Māldah," were probably formed by a subsequent movement of the Kusī.

Mr. Ferguson's Eastern Kusi.

Mr. Fergusson, as we have seen, considers the ancient Eastern Kusī to have discharged its waters through the rivers Atrai and Urasāgar, into the Brahmaputra.

Dr. Hunter's Kusi of about A. D. 1600.

The next bed of the Kusī, and probably there were other channels occupied between this and the hypothetical course just described, suggested by Dr. Hunter, is supported by the evidence of the distinctive Bengali and Bihārī eras, whose line of division at the time of introduction would most probably be carried along a natural boundary such as a large river. There are numerous large and deep *Jhīls*, or extensive pools along this tract of country which seem the work of a large river. This hypothetical course of the Kusī would also throw light on a point on which there has been much speculation and controversy, *viz.*, the causes of the abandonment of Gauṛ to which here I can only casually refer. This Kusī would pass through the Kalindrī, a deep and wide channel still known as the Marā Kusī, and would strike direct against the northern suburbs of Gauṛ, and we see numerous embankments to the north and east of this ancient city meant to keep off the floods. Abū-l-Faẓl, in his Aīn-i-Akbarī, alluding to the vast swamp to the East of the city says, "Were the dam that confines it to break, the city would be under water." The flourishing capital of a large kingdom could not originally have been built in a swamp. As a matter of fact it is built on a ridge of yellow clays, with *Kaṇkar* here and there, which probably forms the outcrop of some of the infra-trappean beds of the Rājmahāl hills, and can be traced from Manihārī, through Gauṛ, and thence through the Borine of Rājshāhī towards Maimansingh. With the Kusī flowing to the north and east, and the Ganges washing its western walls, it is easy to understand how the city became

Deflection of Kusi probable cause of insalubrity of Gauṛ.

pestilential and uninhabitable. Gauṛ was finally abandoned in favor of Rājmahāl as the seat of Government in 1592, or about the time the Kusī is supposed to have flowed along this channel and the numerous marshes near Māldah would form a necessary concomitant to the Kusī in this position.

Raised ground round debouchure of Kusi into plains.

Returning now to where the Kusī leaves the Mountains, we see that, as a result of its extensive mountain drainage, a vast quantity of detritus is thrown out into the plains below Catrā and keeps constantly increasing and raising the detrital talus, or minature plateau, formed round its debouchure from the mountains, and along this plateau the Kusī waters run with great velocity and at a high level, as compared with the surrounding plains. The Railway Surveys of the Assam-Behar section of the E. B. S. R., and the Bengal North-Western Railway, which are connected by a ferry across the Kusī, about 5 miles below the Nepal frontier, show that from Acrā (*vulgo* Achra) Ghāṭ, on the east bank of the Kusī to Forbesgañj Station, a distance of 14 miles by the line in a South-Easterly direction, there is a fall in the surface of the ground of 29 feet and from Khanwā Ghāṭ, on the right bank of the Kusī, to Nirmālī—across the Bīr Bandh—a distance by rail of 32 miles in a slight South-Westerly direction there is a fall in the surface of the ground of 46 feet. A careful survey, with levels recorded, made by the P. W. D. in 1890-91, shows (1) that the fall along the left bank of the Kusī from Acrā Ghāṭ to the village of Piṭhoriā, a distance in a straight line of about 10 miles, is 29·33 feet; (2) that the high banks of the Kajrī, or Kālī Kusī, or main Kusī of 1731, which flows about 10 miles to the east of Acrā Ghāṭ is some 10 feet below the level of the bottom or bed of the present Kusī; and (3) that Dēbīgañj Station, on the left bank of the Kusī of 1807–10 is about 5 feet below the level of the bed of the present Kusī, lower ground intervening between these two rivers.

Captain Jeffreys, in his report on the Gaṇḍak Canal, remarks "In Bihār it is characteristic of all rivers north of the Ganges that they run on ridges of high ground." The Kusī is so conspicuous in this respect, at the present time, that it admits of no affluents in the plains, in fact, its banks form, as it were a water-shed between the rivers of the Districts of Purneah and North Bhagalpur near whose line of division the Kusī at present flows during a good portion of its course in the plains. All the rivers in the South-Western half of Purneah, taking their rise from the eastern slopes, and those in North Bhagalpur, mostly from the western slopes of the main Kusī banks; and it is worthy of notice that all the mountain water the Ganges receives through the various tributaries

Banks of Kusi forming a water-shed

flowing into it within the limits of Purneah District has previously passed through the Kusī. It seems extremely probable that all the rivers in both the above districts having their sources in the Kusī slopes have at one time or another formed the main stream of that river. We have seen that it has occupied all the Purneah rivers as above restricted, save the easternmost, *i.e.*, the Panār or Parwān, as it is called in the north and it is significant that this river also in its short course in Nepalese territory is called the Būṛhī Kusī *i.e.*, the old or mother Kusī, and it is through this channel that Dr. Buchanan Hamilton conjectures that the Kusī broke away eastwards towards the Brahmaputra; but he also mentions, as being told by a gentleman, who had repeatedly visited the spot, that a dry stony-bedded stream flowed away eastward from below the third Cataract at Catrā, and "alleged by the people of the vicinity to be the original channel of the river." This stream might be the one referred to by Dr. W. Hunter as entering the District where the Bakrā now does break away eastwards. If such a former channel still exists it may possibly be found, if search were made, in the sandy plains containing antelope (antelope cervicapra) occurring to the North-east of Simrāhā, in Nepal, or the channel might be only a partial deflection of the stream as, indeed, Dr. Hamilton's description would lead one to infer that the "original channel" alluded to, had, in his opinion, its exit from Nepalese territory through the Būṛhī or Panār river. The bed of the Kusī, from its high bank to high bank near the Belkār Hills, is some 8 miles wide, containing numerous islands which have been formed by running and abandoned streams intersecting one another, and the maximum rise of the river in these parts is only about 8 feet during the rains; whilst the Ganges rises 30 feet where the Kusī joins it. The distance from the Belkār Hills to the Ganges in a straight line is about 100 miles, and the fall in level along the river (Kusī) about 200 feet in this distance. Here then, I think, we have a probable solution to the problem of this westward advance of the Kusī. Rivers do not originate along "ridges of high ground" but by annual deposits on their shores during flood-time, and blown sand, raise their banks, and their beds keep rising in unison, the accumulations of sand in their beds first beginning in their lower reaches where, owing to distribution, their currents get slack. The Kusī in its most eastward course would be controlled by the detrital slope along the foot of the Himālayas which would give the initial direction to the course of the river in its endeavour to reach

A possible Eastern Channel of the Kusi at the foot of the hills.

Width and maximum rise of Kusi near Nepal frontier.

Probable solution of Westward advance.

the ocean by the shortest route, and then each affluent from the northern mountains would tend to deflect her course farther and farther to the south. In this position the usual detrital accumulations would go on lifting the river above the surrounding country, until the ever increasing force of the current of overflow of its spill-waters, due to its constant elevation, would ultimately break—during heavy rain or unusually high freshets—a new channel for the river into the lower country which would naturally be in a direction away from the mountains whose own detrital slopes are ever on the increase. This new channel would undergo the same filling up process, and when the next shift took place the raised banks of the channel just previously deserted, would form a sort of barrier against the immediate return of the river in that direction, and a farther deflection away from the mountains would take place, and this "constant westerly movement" would go on until the limit was reached and further westward movement checked by the general slope seaward of the great Gangetic Plain. The Kusī has never been known to return eastwards to any of its deserted channels, but has been steadily advancing westward, the successive leaps forming as it were a series of terraces with the slope facing East. Denudations and the products of denudation have tended towards levelling off the former "ridges" along which the main waters of the river were carried along. That the Kusī must again come eastwards will be apparent to any one who gives the matter a moment's consideration. We know the Kusī has moved westward through a space of about 60 miles, measured along the Ganges, since 1731, and that it cannot go up country much further.

Gradient of the Ganges surface

The summer level of the Ganges at Monghyr, to the North of which the Kusī flows at present, is 101·83 feet above mean sea level, whilst at Sāhibgañj opposite to which the Kusī of 1731 discharged its waters the summer level of the surface of the Ganges is only 68 feet above mean sea level. It is apparent that this "constant westerly movement" is not taking place for the special benefit of our Government, but must have been repeated over and over again in past geological ages since the upheaval of the Himālayas and the gradual formation of the Indo-gangetic Plain, and when the eastward movement is again accomplished, it may be in the power of distant generations to repeat that the Kusī is remarkable for its "constant westerly movement." As to the time and manner of its going eastward again, it is difficult and hazardous to form an opinion. Fergusson, referring to the period when he considers the combined Kusī, Mahānanda, and Atrai flowed through the Urasāgar, says,[1] "Were it possible, it

[1] Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc., page 245.

would be extremely interesting to know when this was the case *** that this should have occurred within the very limited range of the traditions of Lower Bengal induces me to suppose that the beginning of the Christian era is the highest antiquity that can be ascribed to such a state of things. It may be much later." If the Bīr Bandh, to be next described, is the limit of a former westward advance of the Kusī, then another limit has again been nearly reached, as we have only the rivers Parmān and Talābā in Bhagalpur as possible future streams, the sources of the Ḍimrā and Tiljugā being cut off from the Kusī by the Bīr Bandh. It is, however, possible for this embankment to be cut away by erosion of the right bank of the Kusī, north of where the B. N. W. R. line passes through it, but the current would have to cut through several miles of forest country before accomplishing this. The Kusī floods already find their way into the lower reaches of the Parmān.

Bir Bandh.

In North Bhagalpur there is an extensive embankment of earth in places some 20 to 30 feet high, called the Bīr Bandh, extending from the foot of the Belkār or outer range of hills in Nepal southwards into Bhagalpur District, about 50 miles in length, it runs nearly parallel with the present course of the Kusī which approaches it towards its southern end. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and others considered it to be a fortification, a theory shown by Dr. Hunter to be highly improbable, but it may possibly be a dyke to prevent Kusī overflows from flooding the lower country to the west and carving out fresh channels. It shows signs of having been cut up and partly washed away in its lower course by river action, which may have been done by the Kusī during a former westward advance. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton conjectures that this earth-work was constructed by Lakṣmaṇa II, about the close of the 12th century, the only reasons assigned for the supposition being that tradition stated it to have been built by a Lakṣmaṇa and "as the works were never completed and have the appearance of having been suddenly deserted, it is probable that they were erected by Lakṣmaṇa the second, who in the year 1207, was subdued and expelled from Nadiya by the Moslems." Probably he refers to the detached portions at its southern end, cut away by river action, when alluding to its incomplete and abandoned appearance. This extensive embankment cuts off the sources of the Ḍimrā and Tiljugā rivers from the Kusī, and intercepts all flood-waters of the latter river from entering the channels.

Probable return of the Kusi to its easternmost alignment.

As to the manner in which the change will take place we have the analogy of the behaviour of the Tīstā river, under apparently similar conditions, to be next described. From the general aspects of the

gradients in the Kusī sub-delta, and the inference to be drawn from the straightening of the Tīstā, it would appear probable that the Kusī, after reaching its westernmost limit, will go back to near the easternmost of its abandoned channels, and then begin the work of moving westwards all over again. In fact since these notes were taken, the Kusī, during the rains of 1893, made a great demonstration of going eastwards and threw such a considerable volume of water from below the village of Babbia into the Būṛhī river, that a considerable tract of country on both its sides was flooded and covered up in places with 6 to 8 feet of sand, and the large villages of Harinagrā, and Dīwāngañj, in Nepal, on the right bank of the Būṛhī stream, were silted up and had to be deserted.

Return of the Tistā to its easternmost abandoned channel.

The Tīstā river is known to have flowed through the Karatōyā, and to the East of this latter river there are other beds known as the *marā* or dead Tīstā. In Major Rennel's Bengal Atlas, published in 1781, the Tīstā is shown running far to the west of the Karatōyā, *i. e.*, in the Atrai river, and flowing into the Padma or Ganges. This seems to have been the westernmost limit of the Tīstā, though in remoter times it may have flowed through the Dhīpā and Purnabahā in Dinajpur, for in 1787, quoting from the Rangpur Collectorate records, Dr. Hunter in his account of that District says, "The Tīstā, at all times an erratic river, had for long rolled its main stream through the western part of Rangpur and through Dinajpur till it mingled its waters with the Atrai and other streams, and finally made its way into the Padma or Ganges. At the same time it threw off a small branch in the northern part of Rangpur which found its way by a circuitous course past Ulipur to the main stream of the Brahmaputra, a little farther north than the place where the waters of the Ghaghat found an exit into the same river. Suddenly the main branch of the Tīstā swelled by incessant rains, swept down from the hills such vast masses of sand as to form a bar in its course, and bursting its banks the Tīstā forced its way into the Ghaghat. The channel of this latter stream was utterly inadequate to carry off this vast accession to its waters; the waters of the Tīstā accordingly spread itself over the whole District causing immense destruction to life and property, until it succeeded in cutting for itself a new and capacious channel through which the river now flows. This great inundation occurred on the 27th August 1787, and on the 2nd September, the Collector reported to the Board of Revenue that, "Multitudes of men, women, children and cattle have perished in the floods, and in many places whole villages have been so completely swept away as not to leave the smallest trace whereby to determine that the ground had been occupied." These calamities culminated in a famine. Collections of

revenue were suspended for a period of two months, and provision was made for feeding the starving poor who were daily flocking into the town. "Upwards of 6,000 poor were, at this time, in receipt of daily rations of rice at the Civil Station *** It was estimated that in the course of this disastrous year, Rangpur District lost one-sixth of its inhabitants. In pargana Pangā, half the population were gone."

Fergusson, alluding to this new course adopted by the Tīstā, says, "The curious part of the matter is that looking into Rennel's original M. S. Surveys, a chain of ponds is marked in this direction as the old bed of the Tīstā," too insignificant to be marked in his Atlas, but at their junction with the Brahmaputra he does mark 'Teesta Creek.' To those who know how permanent the names of rivers are, this is proof positive that the river once before flowed in this direction, but unfortunately we have no knowledge when it deserted this bed and became a confluent of the Atrai."

Changes in the Course of the Huang-ho.

Thus a comparatively small river, whose mountain drainage is confined to a portion of Sikhim, has proved capable of dealing destruction over a large tract of country in its eastward return; and the Tīstā is not singular in this respect, there being rivers in other countries which are reported to carry destruction with their movements. Thus Mr. Woodville Rockhill, the American Central Asian traveller, writing in the *Century Magazine* says, "On the banks of the Huang-ho, a little to the west of where I crossed it, comes yearly an official to sacrifice in the name of the Emperor to the river god, that he may spare the country through which it flows and not visit it with death-dealing floods * * * Evidently little faith is placed in this mode of restraining the fury and vagaries of the great river which within the historical period has four times changed its lower course and yearly breaks through the immense levees along its banks. The most recent change was in 1887, when it swept over more than a hundred thousand square miles of country in the Provinces of Honan and An-hui, obliterating innumerable towns and villages, and dealing death to hundreds of thousands (report says millions) of people."

Channels inadequate for carrying main Kusi waters.

Now if we return to the Kusī and examine all its abandoned channels lying to the east of its present course, we can see that not one of them, except perhaps the one last deserted, is capable of containing a fraction of the waters brought down by the main river, and extensive and severe floods are sure to occur along whichever channel it adopts in its retreat back towards the sea. With an eastward direction of flow, as indicated by Drs. Hamilton and Hunter, it would intercept and absorb

the waters of all hill streams that at present drain into the Mahānanda which river itself when it came to deal with the raised banks of the new Kusī would probably break away and join the latter river farther to the south-eastward, through one of those rivers starting from the neighbourhood of its left bank which have in former times, probably, formed the bed of its main stream. In this connection Mr. Fergusson, alluding to the westward advance of the Kusī, remarks:[1] "It shows a great tendency to go farther in this direction, in fact, to imitate the example of its old confluent the Mahanuddee, which forms a circle extending 35 miles to the westward of the straight line in which we may reasonably suppose it reached the Ganges at no very distant date." The Mahānadī appears to have now reached its farthest westward limit and with minor local deflections has been practically stationary in its present course within the memory of the present generation, and the eastward movement will probably be into its easternmost supposed channel, the Tanghan river, or possibly further east. Thus the Kusī in its new course would go on increasing in dimensions and in force and would form in the neighbourhood of the Brahmaputra an immense river.

Effects caused by movements westward.

On approaching the banks of a newly-adopted channel of the Kusī, when it has been established for a few years, its vicinity can at once be suspected by seeing forests of large trees, which had formerly been growing on the highest class of lands, their stems silted up to their forking branches, gradually dying off, and the whole country covered with sand or clay deposits as the current has been swift or slack, and most of the higher arable lands converted into jungles of tall saccharum grasses and tamarisk (*Tamarisk indica*). On the other hand, a broad belt on either side of a recently deserted channel is rendered conspicuous by the absence of all large trees except occurring as an oasis, spared here and there, dotting the prairie of waving grasses. When Dr. Buchanan Hamilton visited Purneah in 1807, Dhāmdāhā Thanā was one of the most populous and prosperous divisions of the District to the west of, and almost untouched by, the Kusī, whilst Gōndwārā Thānā to the east, recently overrun by its ravages, had wild elephants roaming in its jungles. At the present time the former is just recovering from the state of being more or less a treeless tiger jungle, and the latter is the most cultivated and wooded of the three parganas of the Mahārāja of Darbhangā's zamīndārī of Dharampur, the exploiting ground of the Kusī in Purneah for the past century. Captain Jeffreys in his report on the Gaṇḍak canals, referring to rivers in Bihār north of the Ganges as quoted in Dr. Hunter's "Bhagulpur," says, "Between two adjacent rivers there will be found a shallow

depression consisting of a series of *caurs*, or low lands, leading into one another." This is the case with all the abandoned courses of the Kusī and it is these very shallow depressions, or *caurs*, which the Kusī works into and carves out new channels on a return to the locality. In the case of the Hiran, or main Kusī, of the surveys of 1840–47 its channel is now nearly obliterated; its former course in places being marked by a high ridge, and when the Kusī next re-visits this locality it will flow along the *chaurs* flanking the original course of the river of 1840, and the present low lands will become in part the high banks of the future river, and *vice versa*. To give an instance, Nipaniā, situated between beds of the Hiran and Dhāmdāhā Kusī about 30 miles above where these rivers fall into the Ganges, was a working indigo factory belonging to a brother of mine, and obtained its water supply from an artificial tank upon the raised banks of which stood the dwelling-house and masonry outworks. I saw it in working condition in 1869, and on my re-visiting the spot in 1877 no trace of the tank or indigo vats could be seen, but the upper portion of the boiler building with chimney stood out from the sands, marking the spot round which the factory compound and works formerly stood, the place having been covered up with about 10 feet of sand by a turn in the flow of the Hiran, just previous to the Kusī abandoning this river and going into the Ḍaus swamps.

Rate of silt accumulation.

The great changes that have occurred in the courses of the Indus and other Pañjāb rivers in the western half of the Indo-Gangetic Plain are well known, though I believe they have never been systematically worked out.[1]

Changes in the Panjāb Rivers.

It is well known that the Ganges or Bhāgīrathī in former times flowed past Suti or Sontī in the Murshidābād District into the sea through Diamond Harbour, or along the direction in which the Huglī now flows, and this is the river up to the present day regarded by the Hindūs as their sacred Ganges, or Bhāgīrathī; and the portion of the Ganges called the Padda or Padma, between Sontī and its junction with the Brahmaputra, at Jāfirgañj, is not held sacred. It is important to bear in mind that the real name of the Ganges from Gaṇgōtrī near its source in the western Himālayas to Sāgar on the sea is the Bhāgīrathī, and the word Gaṇgā simply signifies *river*, and as applied to the Bhāgīrathī means *the* river *par excellence* of the Hindūs.

Bhagirathi the real Hindu name of the Ganges.

[1] [See, however, Major Raverty's Article on the Mihrān of Sindh, appearing as an Extra number of the *Journal* of the Society for 1893. Ed.]

Fergusson[1] alluding to this says "Poddah or Padma (Lotus) is the stream running nearly east and west by which the Bhāgīrathī, or true Ganges, above Bauleah at some recent time connected itself with the Brahmaputra somewhere above Jāfirgañj. The tradition of this junction taking place is quite distinct in the minds of the natives inhabiting its banks, who do not consequently look on the Poddah as a sacred stream."

The Padma

Now if we examine the Sea-board of the Gangetic Delta at the head of the Bay of Bengal, we find three indentations or arms of the sea larger, and running deeper into the seaward face of the Sunderbans than the rest of the creeks. These are, beginning from the west: (1) The mouth of the Huglī, or Ganges proper; (2) The Harinaghaṭṭā Estuary; and (3) The Megnā Channel, at present the outlet of the Ganges, Kusī, and Brahmaputra combined.

Three large Estuaries in the Seaboard of the Gangetic Delta.

At about the time the main Ganges flowed into the sea by the first of these channels, and the Brahmaputra, flowing past Maimansingh, joined the Megnā, (as it is well known that the Brahmaputra came into the portion of its present channel lying between Dīwāngañj and Jāfirgañj, about the beginning of the present century), and found an exit into the sea through the third channel, we have the Kusī probably flowing eastwards towards Pabna, and it seems not unlikely that the Harinaghaṭṭā is the channel by which the Kusī waters, swelled by many of the tributaries at present flowing into the Brahmaputra, found their way into the ocean. This would account for the great depth and size of the Madhumatī river, and the extent of the Harinaghaṭṭā Estuary.

Kusi probably flowing through the Harinaghattā Estuary.

Describing the seaboard, Fergusson says,[2] "From the Hugly to the Harinaghata, the seaward face of the Sunderbuns is tolerably level and fixed, at all events it has undergone no sensible change within any period to which our knowledge extends, and so far as can be ascertained, it shows no tendency to go forward. In that portion of the Delta, however, allotted to the Brahmaputra a great deal of work has yet to be done, everything there is so new and in such a constant state of change." At the present time all the three great rivers have combined their labours, and are using their united efforts in building up the backward—hence comparatively lower—portions of the Delta in the eastern part of the Bay, by depositing the greater portion of their

The Seaboard of the Delta.

[1] Quar. Jour. Geo Soc., London, Vol. XIX., 1863.

[2] Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc., page 334.

silt along the Megnā outlets; but a time must surely come when it will be the turn of the Hugli and Harinaghaṭṭā to work on their own portions of the Delta already advanced so far into the sea, and now enjoying a period of rest, and what combination of physical events may bring this about, it is our province to enquire into.

Eastward flow of Kusi will probably open out the Bhāgirathi below Sonti.

Now, referring to my allusion in the introduction, to remoter dangers of a serious nature, we have Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's opinion that when, in its westward advance, the Kusī came across and joined the Bhāgīrathī, "the united mass of water opened up the passage now called the Padma and the old channel of the Bhāgīrathī from Sontī to Nadiyā was then left comparatively dry." This seems likely enough, but the converse appears still more probable, that is, upon the Kusī breaking away eastward again and deserting the Bhāgīrathī, the latter river will return to and resume its old course and flow into the sea through Diamond Harbour. To quote Fergusson again, he says,[1] "The first result of the invasion of the Gangetic territory by the Brahmaputra was that it should seek to re-enact the part which had just been performed on the other side of the Madhoopur jungles, and should threaten to shut up the Ganges and send it back through its own distributaries. It was so nearly successful that in 1838 the great Ganges was fordable at several places above the junction." Now, if the detritus brought down by the new channel of the Brahmaputra nearly closed up the bed of the Ganges in 1838, it appears more than probable that that event may actually occur upon the Kusī joining it through, probably, the Urasāgar River after over half a century of silting up and raising of the country round the junction of the three rivers.

Danger to Calcutta from Hugli becoming Main Ganges.

With the main stream of the Ganges turned into the narrow channel of the Hugli it appears tolerably certain that Calcutta, and many of the towns along the banks of the Bhāgīrathī would be rendered untenable.[2] Further, the vast increase in its waters would cause its banks to overflow and sand and clay deposits would take place over a wide area, and the silting up and devastation caused by a shift westward of the Kusī, above described, would be re-enacted on a

[1] Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc., Page 336.

[2] [The reader is again referred to the Proceedings for February, 1895, in which this opinion is discussed. It is hardly necessary to point out that the author is dealing with results which may occur if engineering science does not interfere. The discussion above referred to shows that engineering science has interfered. Ed.]

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larger scale on the lands flanking the Hugli, which river itself would then—as the Ganges—probably shift about into adjacent channels. Another interesting question now crops up from this state of affairs.

Calcutta Bore-hole.

We have all read of the celebrated Calcutta Bore-hole, a boring in search of pure water carried to a depth of 481 feet, or about 460 feet below mean sea level, at Fort William, in 1835. At a depth of 25 feet a carbonaceous sandy clay was met with, which gradually passed into a bed of peat at 30 feet, or about 10 feet below mean tide level.[1] This peat bed has since been found in all excavations in and around Calcutta at depths varying from 20 to 30 feet, and it is admitted by Geologists that there is little doubt that this was an ancient land surface, as wood and roots of the *sundri* tree (*heritiera littoralis*) and other vegetable remains occur in the peat. Now it seems not unlikely that the present surface of the ground, in suitable localities, after such a catastrophe as above surmised, would present to future generations such a stratum as the first peat bed encountered in the Calcutta Bore-hole. It might be brought forward as an argument against this theory that the peat occurs at, or a few feet below, mean tide level, but we must remember that the rank vegetation from which the peat had its origin must have grown in soft low-lying grounds, such as the Sundri trees grow in now, and in a flooded state of the country the extra pressure resulting from the higher level of water and silt deposits, with loose semi-fluid quicksands, some 30 feet in thickness, as encountered in the Bore-hole underlying the peat at no great depth, would be sufficient to settle the peat-bed a few feet below water level, especially as the whole country would be saturated with flood waters. In fact it seems probable that a general settling down of all the alluvial strata along the seaboard would be the natural result of such a condition of things.

Old Course of the Bhāgirathi.

It would be extremely important and interesting to know when the main Ganges, in past times, last flowed through the Diamond Harbour Estuary. The native tradition is that the original Bhāgīrathī formerly flowed into the Estuary through the opening now occupied by the Rūpnarain, and Fergusson[2] thinks the tradition is right, and as above quoted, he also considers that the main Ganges deflected into the Padma channel "at some recent time."

De Barros' Map.

In the map of Bengal, published in the "Da Asia" of the Portuguese historian, De Barros, during the latter half of

[1] Jour. As. Soc. Beng., IX., 686 (1840), also Geology of India, R O. Oldham, 1893, page 432.

[2] Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc., London; Vol. XIX., page 340.

the sixteenth century, as given by Wilson,[1] the Padma is already shown as a wide and established stream, but the present Bhāgīrathī is shown as throwing a narrower branch off westward and flowing into the Estuary in the neighbourhood of the outlet of the Rūpnarain, and to this western channel probably the Dāmūdā, alluded to by Wilson,[2] was an affluent. In the map the name Huglī is not mentioned, but that river is called the Ganges, no town or village is marked where we should expect to find Calcutta, but Sātgāõ, spelt Satigam, near the modern Huglī, is shown higher up the river and formed the trading mart of the Portuguese in those times, and there was sufficient water for the larger vessels to come up the river as far, at all events, as the present site of Calcutta and for the smaller vessels to go right up to Sātgāõ. Now if tradition is to be trusted in this instance, and De Barros' map has been correctly interpreted by me, then it would appear that the original Bhāgīrathī which flowed into the sea near the Rūpnarain opening, had been then already deserted, and the deeper channel was the present Huglī. That a wide deserted channel can be silted up and obliterated in the short space of twenty years, we have seen in the case of the Hiran, and to those who have watched the process it is easy to understand, and that the old channel of the Bhāgīrathī should have disappeared after a lapse of three centuries is in no way surprising. In the same way that the Ganges probably broke away into the Padma, owing to the accession of the waters of the Kusī, the sluggish Bhāgīrathī after the withdrawal of the bulk of its waters was unable to keep clear the major stream, and to prevent it from silting up, and contented itself with the minor bed of the Huglī. The curious coincidence of the "Da Asia" being published just about the time Gauṛ became unhealthy and pestilential, which I have surmised to have been due to the Kusī coming into the Kalindrī, *i. e.*, leaving its eastern courses and coming into the Ganges, which then flowed under the western walls of the old city, may be noted. According to Wilson, the "Da Asia" was published in parts, from 1552 to 1613, and the seat of Government was removed, owing to insalubrity, from Gauṛ to Tandā, by Sulaimān Shāh in 1564-65, and ten years later the great pestilence broke out which depopulated Gauṛ, which was finally abandoned in favour of Rājmahāl in 1592. It was about this time, according to Hunter's *Māldah*, that the Ganges ceased to flow under the walls of Gauṛ, and this would be the natural result of the Kusī deflecting it westward. From

Final abandonment of Gauṛ.

[1] "Topography of the Huglī in the 16th Century, by C. R. Wilson, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXI., 1892.

[2] Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXI., 1892, note, page 112.

all these aspects of the case it would appear probable that the Ganges turned away eastwards during the first half of the 16th century, and the probability would amount almost to certainty if we were to admit that the western channel shown in De Barros' Map is the original Bhāgīrathī, as it must have been recently vacated to appear so conspicuous.

In conclusion, I would beg to remark that the whole subject is a vast and interesting one, and only the more prominent features have been here touched upon with a view, principally, of pointing out the probability of the Kusī and Ganges changing their courses, and the attendant dangers, and from the evidence adduced I think we are fairly entitled to conclude that both these catastrophes are certain to occur in the not distant future.

Formations similar to Sussex Weald, in progress in the Delta.

Two points of special interest to Geologists crop up from these investigations. The first is that we here see vast fresh-water beds of sand alternating with clay, with here and there thick deposits of fresh-water Shells in the *Cauṛs* (*vulgo, Chowrs*) or lagoons forming far inland by the action of rivers; whilst in the newly forming portions of the Delta itself we may expect to find areas of strata containing marine organisms alternating with fresh-water, or estuarine beds, without the aid of general up-heaval or depression of the country. This throws somelight on the probable mode of formation of the fresh water and fluviomarine beds of the Weald of Sussex, a subject of such controversy amongst English geologists.

High ridge of Country connecting Rājmahāl with Assam Hills.

The second point of interest is that beginning at the Manihārī Hill, in the Purneah District on the left bank of the Ganges, and going eastward and southward, a high ridge of country can be traced, with gaps here and there, right away through Gauṛ, the Borine of Rajshahi and Bogra through the Madhupur Jungles, away to the Assam Hills, between which and the Rājmahāl Hills it forms a sort of barrier between the Gangetic Plain and the Delta proper. The principal perforations or gaps in this ridge are, (1) the channel of the old Brahmaputra above Dīwāngañj; (2) The channel of the present Brahmaputra at Jafirgañj, which probably carried the Kusī at one time, and (3) the channels of the Mahānanda and Ganges which are practically the same between Rājmahāl and the Borine, with the narrow Gauṛ ridge forming an island in this opening. This ridge is composed of limestone, *kaṇkar*, and brightly-colored variegated clays in the case of Mañihārī Hill, and farther east of yellow and reddish clays with *kaṇkar* beds uncovered by the newer alluvium. Similar beds occur on the banks of the

Three gaps in the Ridge.

Karatōyā and near Dināj̇pur, where Dr. Buchanan Hamilton[1] mentions the occurrence of *khurī*, or the white clay of the Rājmahāl inter-trappean beds in digging a well. In most places these beds are what are termed in geological works in India, the "older alluvium" but it is not clear by what process they came to cover the highest tracts of the country; but the influence of this barrier in checking the drainage of the country in the earlier days of the building up of the Gangetic plain and even probably now must be apparent to all knowing the distribution of the Ganges alluvium.

Three larger Estuaries correspond with 3 gaps in the ridge.

These three openings in this high tract of the country correspond to the three larger estuaries in the seaboard at the head of the Bay, above described, and knowing as we do that the flanking estuaries have been occupied separately by the two great rivers of Bengal, it seems but reasonable to suppose that there must have been a time when the Kusī, holding an independent course and absorbing the southern drainage of the Himālayas up to the eastern confines of Sikhim, passed through the central opening and flowed into the sea through the Harinaghaṭṭā Estuary, as a third great river of Bengal.

Kusi probably holding an independent course to the Sea.

A map 50·9 miles to the inch, taken from Messrs. Keith Johnston's Atlas, published in 1894, with dotted lines indicating the various alignments of the Kusī—hypothetical as well as actual—is annexed.

[1] Description of the Dinājpur District, Calcutta, 1833.

North Indian Folk-Lore about Thieves and Robbers.—*By* Çarat Candra Mitra, *Corresponding Member of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.*

[Read July 1894.]

Every profession, not excepting even that of the light-fingered gentry, has its gods and goddesses, to whom the persons following that profession pay their homage for success. The vegetable-sellers of Bihār have their gods. The Kahārs (कहार) or palankeen-bearers, and the Mallāhs (मल्लाह), or boatmen of Bihār, also worship particular deities who, they believe, watch over their welfare and safety. Indian thieves and robbers, and the rest of the marauding fraternity, have also particular goddesses whom they worship in the belief that success or otherwise in their pilfering expeditions depends on the favors or frowns of those female deities. To this end, they take care to propitiate the said goddesses by offering up *pūjā* in the shape of sweets, cereals, and, sometimes even animal sacrifices, before starting on their expeditions. Curiously enough, a female deity is invariably found to be the tutelary patroness of the Indian robbers and thieves. She is known in different parts of Northern India, as the goddess Dēvī or Kālī in her various forms and under various names. In Bengal, thieves and robbers are supposed to enjoy the special protection of Kālī. In the North-Western Provinces and the Pañjāb, she is also worshipped by the light-fingered gentry under the name of Dēvī, or Mātā. The Ṭhags, who raised the profession of robbery by throttling and strangulation into a semi-religious cult, also worshipped this Dēvī or Mātā, to whom they invariably paid their devotions before starting on their marauding expeditions, and from whom they drew omens portending the success or otherwise of their undertaking. Colonel Sleeman, well-known as the Superintendent of the operations for the Suppression of Ṭhagī and Ḍakaitī in India, has given detailed information of the various rites practised by the Ṭhags, and of their superstitions, in his work entitled "*Ramaseeana, or the Secret Language of the Thugs.*" The curious enquirer may also find additional information on the

subject, and gain peeps into the inner mysteries of a Ṭhag's daily life in a work of fiction entitled "*The Confessions of a Thug*," by that well-known Anglo-Indian novelist, Colonel Meadows Taylor.

In Bengal, thieves and robbers are believed to enjoy the special protection of the goddess Kālī. Up to the time that the British rule was established on a firm footing in Bengal, ḍakaitī and robbery were rife in that part of the country. Before the ḍakāits started on their expeditions they used to offer up *pūjā* to the goddess to ensure their success, and, after returning from a foray, used to make her an offering of part of the booty by way of thanksgiving. It is said that, in those days, the temple of the goddess Kālī at Kālīghāṭ, south of Calcutta, and the temple[1] of the goddess Citreçvarī—a form of Kālī—at Chitpore in the Northern Suburbs of Calcutta, were much resorted to by ḍakāits and robbers who used to worship their patron-deity there.

The shrine of the deity Tāraknāth—an incarnation of Çiva—at Tārakēçvar (Tarkessur) in the Hugli District, has from time immemorial been regarded as a very important place of pilgrimage by the Hindūs of Bengal. At the present time, a branch line of the East Indian Railway has been opened from the Sheoraphuli station of that railway to Tārakēçvar, which conveys the pilgrims safely to that shrine. But, in the pre-railway days, when the *Pax Britannica* had not been firmly established, almost all the pilgrims had to travel thither on foot or by bullock-carts. These pilgrims, in many cases, used to take with them rich and costly articles for offerings to the lord Tāraknāth. These excited the cupidity of the marauding fraternity; and a colony of ḍakāits had accordingly established itself near a village named Singur —now a station on the Tārakēçvar Branch Railway—which was situated close to the highway which led to the shrine of Tārakēçvar. These freebooters ostensibly led the lives of peaceful agriculturists by day time, but during the night, they would sally forth from their homes, armed with *lāṭhīs*, and prowling about the highway, would rob belated travellers of their belongings, and often murder them in order to get at their valuables. A place named *Kaikālār māṭ* (the maidān of Kaikālā—a village in that neighbourhood) was the scene of many of these atrocities; and, in those days, the very mention of the name of that place was enough to send a thrill of horror through the hearts of the pilgrims and wayfarers. These ḍakāits are said to have enjoyed the protection of a goddess Kālī whose temple is situated in the aforesaid village of Singur, and exists there to this day. They used to worship here before starting on their plundering expeditions

[1] In this shrine, human sacrifices, it is said, used to be offered to this goddess in days gone by.

and, on their return, used to make valuable offerings out of the rich booty secured. This goddess was and is still known as *ḍākātē Kālī* or the goddess Kālī of the ḍakāits, and enjoys the reputation of having been the favorite deity of those marauders of Singur.

It is said that 'there is honour even among thieves,' and the *Ḍakāits* of Bengal were not wanting in this respect. Before they committed ḍakaitī in a person's house, they used to send an anonymous letter to the good man thereof informing him of their intention to do so. One night, they would gather together in armed bands, and, with lighted torches, invade the house. After reaching the place, they used to indulge in sword-play which they called *ḍhālī pāk khēlā* yelling loudly all the time. Thereafter they attacked the house. If they saw any danger of being captured, or if any of them got killed, they used to bawl out *māchī paṛechē* 'a fly has got caught,' and then cleared out of the place as fast as their heels could carry them.

In the Pañjāb also, the thieves and robbers used to sacrifice goats or sheep before, or made offerings of sweetmeats to, their Dēvī or goddess, in order to propitiate her and obtain the boon from her that they might be successful throughout the year in their plundering expeditions. On the occasions of such worship fairs were held. One such fair is held even at the present day at the village of Mansā Dēvī, four miles from Caṇḍīgaṛh, on the way to Kālkā, in the Ambālā District. The following account of this fair appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, and was quoted in the Calcutta *Statesman* of Wednesday, the 18th April 1894.

'*An Ancient Thieves' Fair.*—Another Fair has been held in the Ambālā district at Mansā Dēvī, four miles from Caṇḍīgaṛh on the way to Kālkā. Owing to the zemindars being engaged in cutting their harvests, and the Hardwār and Amritsar Baisākhī Fairs being on at the same time, the gathering was unusually small. For all that, however, there were some 20,000 people present. *This was in days gone by essentially a Thieves' Fair, in which the robbers made their offerings of goats, sheep, or sweetmeats at the shrine of their* dēvī *or goddess, and prayed that they might be successful throughout the year in their various plundering expeditions.* At the present time the ceremony is a novel and pleasing sight. The men and women are all dressed in their gorgeous holiday attire, and, having made their offerings, they gather together in lots and sing, dance, and make merry, generally for a couple of days when they leave for their homes after a dip in the well-known Gaggar, a stream which appears to be sacred to the hill people.'

In Bengal, it is popularly believed that in many cases thieves elude detection and capture because the goddess Kālī has granted them the

boon of protection from all danger *cōr'dēr upar Kālir bar āchē.* Thieves almost always commit thefts during the dark half of the moon —the worship of the goddess Kâli taking place on the 15th day of the waning period of the moon. There is a popular superstition amongst the Bengalis that if a male child be born on the *amāvasyā*, or the 15th day of the dark half of the moon, the child will become a thief, as that day is consecrated to Kâli—the goddess of thieves and robbers.

Bengali and Bihâri burglars (*sindhēl cōr*) are said to get their iron hooks (*sindh-kāṭi*)—instruments with which they make holes in the walls of buildings for the purpose of effecting their entrance therein, and which are the prototypes of the 'jemmy' of European burglars—manufactured in the following way. A burglar secretly goes to an iron-smith's (*lohār* of Bihār and *kāmār* of Bengal) shop during the night, and there deposits a piece of iron, and some pice by way of wages. In the morning, the iron-smith, finding the iron and the pice, understands that they had been left there by some thief with a view to have the same turned into a 'jemmy.' The ironsmith manufactures it accordingly and, during the night, deposits it at the exact spot where the iron had been left by the thief. The thief comes thither secretly during the night and takes it away. Hence is the origin of the Bengali saying *cōrē kāmārē dyākhā nāi* or *cōrē kāmārē sākṣāt nāi* (there is no interview between a thief and a blacksmith). This saying is often cited when speaking of a person who gains his object or performs a certain act without having a personal interview with the person who has the power to grant that object, or to whom he is in duty bound to perform that act. Hence it is popularly believed that thieves and burglars never commit thefts in ironsmiths' houses, out of gratitude to the latter. It is another instance of 'honour among thieves.'

Thieves play an important part in the proverbial philosophy of the Bengali people. When one person of bad character is likened to another of the same description, we say *cōrē cōrē mās'tuta bhāi* or thieves are cousins (mother's sister's sons) to one another. When one person defrauds another of his ill-gotten gains, the former is said to practise *cōrēr upar baṭ'pāri* or fraud on a thief. *Cōr palālē buddhi bāṛhē* or 'shutting the stable door after the steed is stolen,' is applied to persons who become wise after the event. Thieves, when caught red-handed, are often thrashed within an inch of their very lives. Hence *cōrēr mār* or 'a beating administered to thieves,' is proverbially synonymous with a severe thrashing. If a person is severely thrashed, it is said of him *tā kē cōrēr mār marechē* or that he has been thrashed like a thief. A child possessed of mischievous habits is often dubbed with the pet sobriquet of *ḍākāt* or dacoit. If a person seeks for an opportunity

of doing a certain act and gets it at last, it is said of him *cōr cāy bhāṅgā bēṛā* 'a thief seeks for a broken fencing.' A thief may elude detection for some time, but he is sure to be caught one day. This has given rise to the popular saying *cōrēr pāc din, sādhēr ek din*, or a thief may escape scot-free for five days, but the good man of the house will catch him one day. Thieves are always artful dodgers, and, in allusion to their artfulness, the Bengalis say *cōr bidyā baṛa bidyā, jadi nā paṛē dharā* or that the profession of stealing is a paying one, so long as the thief is not caught. A person who steals trifles is spoken of as being a *chiñc'kē cōr*. If sound advice is given to a person, but he does not act up to it, the proverb *cōrā nā çunē dharmmēr kāhini* (preach the gospel to the devil, and he will not hear you) is applied to him. A thief cannot be detected except with the assistance of a thief. Hence the proverb *cōrēr sandhān jānu*, or 'set a thief to catch a thief.' A servant or any other menial, who is notorious for his thievish propensities, is often spoken of as being a *cōrēr sardār*, or 'chief among thieves' or 'arch-thief.' If a person, without making any attempt at concealment, deprives another of a thing or otherwise defrauds him, the former is said to commit *dinē ḍākāti*, or 'robbery by broad daylight.' A Bengali bridegroom is often likened to a thief *bar nā cōr* because the former has to put up patiently with all sorts of liberties which the female members of the bride's family take with him on the day of his marriage, just as a thief, when caught, patiently suffers the maltreatment which he receives at the hands of his captors. Or this saying may refer to the form of marriage by capture prevailing in primitive communities, whereby a person has *to steal or carry away by force* a woman before he can marry her. The saying *cōr kē balē curi kar'tē, grhastha kē balē sābadhān hatē* is often applied to a person who blows hot and cold in the same breath, that is to say, who tells a person to do a certain act with respect to another person, and, at the same time, tells the latter to beware of the former.

Origin of the Baloch.—By Colonel E. Mockler, *Political Agent, Muscat.*[1]

[Read November 1893.]

Professor Rawlinson derives the name of the "Baloch" from Belus, king of Babylon, who is identified with Nimrod, the son of Cush, and says that "the names of Belus and Cush, thus brought into juxta-"position have remained attached to some portion or other of the region "in question from ancient times to the present day. The country East "of Kirman was called Kusem throughout the Sassanian period. The "same region is now Beloochistan, the country of the Beloochees or "Belus, whilst adjoining it to the East, is Cutch or Kooch." With the name of Cush may be yoked "Kech" (the capital of Makrān), "Kachī" (a province of Baloochistan) and "Cashmere"; and, as the Sindhīs call the Baloch, "Barōc", "Kach and Baroch" (Cutch and Broach of our maps) may be linked together.

The country now called Balochistan was called by the Greeks "Gedrosia" and was inhabited on the seacoast by the "Ichthyophagi" (fish-eaters) and on the North-West by the Paricanii, Utii, Maki and other tribes. One of the tribes or clans now inhabiting it, *viz.*, the Rind tribe (whose name signifies a "turbulent, reckless, daring man")—which, it may be noted, has never acknowledged the authority of any ruler in the country, and each individual member of which professes to owe obedience to no one, so that the tribe has no recognised head—assert that they originally came from "Alaf," which is supposed by themselves and most other people, I fancy, who have heard their tradition, to be Haleb or Aleppo in Syria. They say that they are Arabs of the tribe of Quraish and were forced to the number of 40,000 to emigrate from "Alaf" by Yazīd I, for having rendered assistance to Ḥusain "the martyr," nephew of the prophet Muḥammad, in A. H. 61. There is a popular ballad well-known throughout the whole country to that effect which, however, states that from "Alaf" to Makrān

[1] [This article has not had the benefit of revision by the author. Names of well-known places and tribes are given in the conventional spelling of the maps. Thus Baloch and not Balōc. Ed.]

they travelled between "earth and heaven." The name of not one single place between Aleppo and Makrān, as having been halted at by the 40,000 Rinds who are said to have left "Alaf" in a body is preserved, so far as I am aware, in any tradition in the whole country, although, from the Western border of Makrān itself, from the seacoast to some 150 miles inland, their movements eastwards are minutely recorded in various ballads and oral traditions. These Rinds claim to be the true Baloch, and to one of their ancestors named Jalāl Khān, or rather to one of his sons, whose names are made to suit the exigencies of each clan, the pedigree-makers of almost every clan in Makrān, claiming to be respectable, are pretty certain to trace their clans's descent. Pottinger records the fact that, in his day the Brahuis (who are Dravidian Cushites) claimed descent from the earliest Muḥammadan invaders of Persia, by whom the Rinds are doubtless intended.

The Kalmatīs of Kalmat (the Kalama of Arian and others) make a man named Kalmat their ancestor, a Rind, and one of the four sons of Jalāl Khān. Some of the genealogists of the great Hōt or Ōt tribe also, whom I identify with the Utii of the army of Xerxes (though many in the tribe, and most out of it, deny any connection with the Rinds, except in a few families by marriage,) say that a man named Hōt (sometimes called Nōt, sometimes Nōtbandag) was their ancestor, was one of the four sons of Jalāl Khān, and was a Rind. That some families in most of the Baloch clans, in nearly all, perhaps, are related by marriage to the Rinds is quite possible as will hereafter become apparent; but I doubt if very free intermarriage between many clans and them, has at any time been prevalent.

Among the earliest mention of Makrān and the Baloch with which I am acquainted are various passages in the Shāh-nāma of Firdūsī (compiled about A. D. 1000 by command of King Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, who is said to have ordered all available resources to be placed at the disposal of the author) in which it is stated that Kai Khusrū (about B. C. 550) King of Persia passed through Makrān and killed the king of the country, also that Naushīrwān (about A. D. 550) inflicted punishment on the Baloch. Bilāthurī who is said to have died in A. H. 279, mentions that a tribe called the "Qufṣ" aided the people of Kirmān against the Arab marauders.

Tabarā who wrote in A. H. 308, also relates that the people of Kirmān asked aid of a people called by the Arabs قفص *Qufṣ* and by the Persians کوج *Kūj* or *Kōj* (of which there is also a reading کفج "*Kufij*.")

Ibn Haukal who appears to have written in A. H. 360, and of whose work there are, it is said, only two copies in Europe, writes "to the

"East of Kirmān lies Makrān and the deserts of that country and "Bahrain, on the borders of the Balūj. The mountains of قفص *Qufṣ* "lie on the southern border (of Kirmān) near the sea On the East "is خواس *Khawās* and the desert extending towards قفص *Qufṣ*, "and on the South is *Balūj*. The بلوج *Balūj* (this appears to be a "quotation) are in the desert of mount قفص *Qufṣ* in the Persian "language كوج *Kūj* or *Kōj*, and they call the two peoples كوج *Kūj* "or *Kōj* and بلوج *Balūj* or *Balōj*.

In the Tarīkh i Guzīda," A. H. 730, it is recorded that in the year A. H. 22, 'Abdu-l-lāh bin 'Amar bin Rabī invaded Kirmān and took possession of its capital, Kuwāshīr, so that the inhabitants solicited assistance of the men of "Kūj and Balūj" in vain He then after conquering Sistān overran Makrān and defeated the king of Sindah, who came to assist in opposing him.

In the Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā the mountains of the "Kōc wa Balōc" are also mentioned; also very particularly by Abū-l-fidā who gives the exact pronunciation of each name. These historians, or rather some of them, it is proper to mention, say that the قفص وبلوص *Qufṣ* and *Balūṣ* or كوج وبلوچ *Kūj* and *Balūj* claim to be of Arab descent, but it must be remembered that they all wrote several centuries after the commencement of the Muḥammadan era, and that the claim so recorded by them, may be fairly considered as a traditional one put forward in their day as now, by, we will say, a majority of the inhabitants.

It, however, appears from the few authorities quoted that the Baloch were established in Makrān more than a century before the commencement of the Muḥammadan era; certainly so if, as Firdūsī relates, Naushīrwān punished them in Makrān, and still more certainly that they were located there within 22 years after its commencement; and that therefore if the Rinds left Aleppo in the time of Yazīd I, say (A. H. 61), according to their tradition the Baloch were in Makrān before that date.

It appears to me doubtful that the Rinds ever came from Aleppo, or that they are Baloch at all. Had they come from Aleppo, some history of their journey thence, through Persia—some one incident, out of many which must have occurred to them on such a journey—the name of some one place, at least, at which they halted on that journey—would surely have been handed down to posterity. Who then are these Rinds from "Alaf"? Whence this tradition of theirs? And why has a connection with them been at any time considered honorific by the inhabitants of Makrān?

I reply—that, as early as A. H. 15 at any rate, expeditions were inaugurated, and indeed despatched by the Arabs of 'Umān ('Omān) against the frontiers of India, and it is recorded by Tabarī, that Al

Hajjāj, the then governor of Irāk, about A. H. 65, appointed Sa'īd bin Aslam bin Zurā al Kalabī to Makrān and its frontiers, and that he was killed by Mua'wīyah and Muḥammad, the sons of Al Hāriṣ al 'Alāfī, *viz.*, Al Hāriṣ of the 'Alāfī tribe. The pedigree of the founder of the tribe is then given as follows :—

اسم علاف هو ربان بن حلوان بن عمران بن الحاف بن قضاعه

that is to say they were the descendants of a man called 'Alāf who was a descendant in a direct line from a well-known personage named Quḍā'a of Kahtanic stock. Sa'īd bin Aslam was opposed by these two brothers (sons of Al Hāriṣ of the 'Alāfī tribe) because he had killed a relation and fellow-countryman of theirs. They had come from 'Umān ('Omān) and after killing Sa'īd they took possession of Makrān.

Subsequently Al Hajjāj appears to have sent a strong force against them, before which, although they are said to have been the victors, they retired, about A. H. 86, into Sindh, where their name is conspicuous in the annals of that country for the next two hundred years or so.

These and many other recorded facts regarding these 'Alāfī and their doings, tally so well with the traditions regarding the earliest movements, in Makrān, of the Rinds and some few clans, which really were, or had become, more or less closely connected with them (some of whom I believe to have been also Arabs and some others probably foreign to Makrān), give me grounds for expressing a belief that the Rinds are, as they assert, of Arab descent, not indeed a people who emigrated from the *town* of Alaf = Haleb = Aleppo in Syria, but a people decended from a *man* named 'Alāf *i.e.*, a tribe called the 'Alāfī, of 'Umān ('Omān.) Not Quraish, who are Ishmaelites, but 'Alāfī, who are Kahtanites. The Baloch, and the Arabs for that matter, are fond of philological discussions as to the origin and meanings of names, and, given a name, they will certainly find a history and meaning for it; and being some of them Alafī, *viz.*, 'Alafī, or descended from them, their derivation of the name is probably founded on no better authority than their own fancy or that of their ballad makers. The ballad was composed, I believe, within the last 200 years, or less, and the migration from Haleb = Alaf was not improbably suggested by some of the many Makrānīs who have taken service in Mesopotamia and to whom the name of Haleb = Alaf = Aleppo was familiar, and it was a very likely one for them to hit upon.

As regards the status of the Rinds, it will be readily understood, that as the whole of the tribes of Balochistan have adopted the Muḥammadan religion, they are not unwilling to be believed to be related to a people of undoubted Arab descent; who were certainly amongst the

first propagandists of their present faith in the country, *viz.*, the Kahtanite 'Alāfī of 'Umān, who now very naturally claim to have belonged to the Quraish, the most honourable tribe amongst Muḥammadans. In Elliot's History of India will be found the genealogy of the Jaṭs and Baloch (linked together) from Muḥammad, son of Hārūon Mukrānī (Mukrīsnū), a grandson of Muḥammad, son of Abān, son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l-mattab. But as Hamza had no sons by any daughter of man, 'Abdu-r-raḥmān's mother is conveniently stated to have been a fairy (*this is their Quraish descent*). Muḥammad son of Hārūon is said to have had 50 sons, by 7 wives, the name of *three* of which sons is Jalāl (and Makrān is said to have been divided between the sons of one of these three Jalāls after the death of Al Hajjāj), the sons of his 6th and 7th wives are said to have borne the following names—VI, Fatimah, bore 1 Shēr, 2 Kōh, 3 Buland, 4 Gurg, 5 Nūru-d-dīn, 6 Ḥasan, 7 Ḥusain, 8 Sulaimān, 9 Ibrāhīm; VII, Eve, bore 1 'Ālam, 2 'Alī, 3 Sarkash, 4 Bahādur, 5 Tēghzan, 6 Mubārak, 7 Turk, 8 Zalha, 9 'Arābī, 10 Shirāz, 11 Tāju-d-dīn, 12 Gulistān Barg. Comment on these names appears unnecessary, but I have no doubt that a certain Jalāl Khān is a historical personage.

Cākar Khān, a descendant of Jalāl Khān and one of the most renowned chiefs of the Rinds, is positively stated, in the traditions and ballads of the country, to have taken Delhi after leaving Makrān (a statement I will now pass by.) The following is a traditional list of the Rind tribe, which Cākar Khān is said to have left behind him in Makrān, starting on the expedition which then led to that event.

The Rēkī (went to Dehgwarān), the *Jaṭ*, *Lattī* (said to be the same as the *Kalmatī*) *Nōhānī*, *Kurd*, Gabōd (or Gabōl), Mahīrī, Askānī, *Gādon*, *Marastānī* (stayed in Kolwāh), the Pūzh (in Kōlāñc) the Lāshārī (in Lashār) the Barr, *Cānda*, Marrī, *Lāṅgā*, *Zahrī*, Sasūdi, Kalkalī, Damūnī, Birdī, (same as Gōjah) *Gōrgēj*, *Lōhānī*, Siāhpād, Kōs-ag, Lagōr, Balī, *Lātik*, Bāmanī, Rēganī, Dodāī, Sābikī, Pandaran. These formed part of his following, and having elected to remain behind, afterwards dispersed into different parts of the country. The names in italics, it is sufficiently evident, are not those of Arabs.

The Gōrgēj were probably Georgians. The Kōs-ag and Marrī, judging by their names, were probably Arabs (in the time of the Khalīfa Hashām, A. H. 105–125, Junaid son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān al Marrī was appointed to the Indian frontier). The Gabōl I believe to be an aboriginal and Cushite tribe, "straight-haired Ethiopians." The Hōt or Ōt have been previously mentioned and identified with the Utii of Herodotus and other authors, who were also, I think, not impossibly the same with the Jaṭs and Zothali and Yucchi (both Jaṭs and Meds are still plentiful in the country).

The Kalmatī are the principal inhabitants of Kalmat and Pasnī.

The Lattī are said to be Kalmatī under another name.

The Bulaidī may possibly be descendants of an Arab named Budail, two letters of his name having been transposed in a very common manner; *e. g.*, "aps" for "asp" (horse) "ushtur" for "shutur" (camel) "nīrmōc" for nīmrōc" (half mid-day,) &c., &c. Perhaps such transposition of letters in the present case may be the result of "a proverbial" alliteration of the name of their chief town now called Bulaida, but which may have been first called Budaila *i.e.*, town of Budail, thus "Budaila bulaida," *viz.*, Budaila is "a little town" (*bulaida* being the diminutive of *balda* "a town"); compare later on "*Balōc badrōc*" or "*Balōc Gadrōc.*" Budail of the Bajalī tribe, sent from 'Almān by Al Hajjāj, A. H. 86-96 against Sināh and killed there by the enemy, may have been the founder of "Budaila bulaida," but Budail is a common Arab name.

As before stated Arab historians mention a people called قفص *Qufṣ* or كفج *Kufij* inhabiting mountains to the south of Kirmān, called the mountains of قوص *Qufṣ*, somewhat to the south-east of which the low-lying country was inhabited by a people called the Balūṣ or Balūj= the Baloch. Some of the later historians have given كوج *Kūj* or *Kōj* as the Persian rendering of قفص *Qufṣ*. As, however, I met, at Sadech, a tribe who believed themselves to be aborigines, of whom there are many in Bashkard to the south of Kirmān, whose principal habitat is the mountain range of Gōkō in Bashkard, about 30 miles from the seacoast (the highest range in Balochistān, *viz.*, 7,000 feet) and who call themselves *Kufish* كفش, or *Kufic* كفج, *Kufij* كفج, or *Qufṣ* قفص I think that the قفص *Qufṣ* of Bilāthurī, Tabarī (who also gives كفج *Kufij*), and Ibn Haukal are the correct readings. It is easily seen that قفص or كفج if badly written in Arabic characters, would very likely be copied as قفص and كوج both of which are given as alternative readings, and by 'Abu-l-fidā the last explained as the Persian equivalent of the first. I leave it to more competent authority to decide whether Kōfish, Kōfic, Kufij, Kūs, Kūj or Kōj, Kūi, Kēc, Kōc, Kīj, Kēj, Kīz, Kish, Cash and Cush, the son of Ham, are simply variations of the same name or not. I would now suggest an identification of the "Paricanii" of Herodotus, with a tribe called the "Purki," the plural of which would be Purkiānii, Paricanīi, *i.e.*, perhaps, "Vehrkan" of the Zend and "Varkān" of ancient Persian. They dwell to the north of Kech in the locality assigned to the Paricanii in our maps, and I submit that the identification of them with the Parikanii (Paricanii) is on etymological grounds preferable to that of the Brahui with the Parikanii, though "Varkān" and "Ba-rohi" may both mean "hillmen," and I take it that (as al-

ready suggested by Professor Rawlinson), while the latter are distinctly Cushite, the former are possibly Turanian or probably Iranian, living side by side. The Purki are few in number, believe themselves aboriginal, and claim no connection with the Rinds.

With regard to the name "Baloch" I would also hazard a suggestion which, if it contains an element of truth, some better philologist than myself may perhaps uphold. It is this—whenever I have enquired of the "Baloch" the *meaning* of their name, they have *invariably* replied (as if the expression were proverbial) "*Balōc Badrōc*" (Badrōsh in some parts of the country). *Bad* means "evil," "bad" "ill," and *rōc* or *rōsh* means "day" (*rūz* is the modern Persian pronunciation). *Gad* in Pehlevī or Zend (ancient Persian) is equal to and synonymous with *bad* in Balochi or more modern Persian, therefore *Badrōc* or *Badrōsh* or *Bādrōṣ* in Balochi is equivalent to *Gadrōc* or *Gadrōsh* or *Gadrōs* of the more ancient Pehlevī or Zend, and to Gadros-ii or Gedros-ii of the Greeks. *Badrōc*, from the interchangability of the liquids "r" and "l", is equivalent to *Badlōc*, out of which the "d" must naturally drop, leaving *Balōc* equivalent to "the Gedros-ii." If the derivation of *Balōc* from *Gadrōc* in the manner suggested be considered philologically inadmissible, then we may suppose that the proverbial expression *Balōc badrōsh* was current in the time of the Greeks, only that it was pronounced in those days *Balōc gadrōsh*, and that the Greeks wrote down the epithet for the name, which in such case would undoubtedly have been derived from Belus (or Balochis.) Note that Sīstān was called *Nīmrōc* "half day."

The suggestions made in the foregoing paper are, I wish it to be understood, tentative suggestions only, put forward, together with the arguments in support of them, in the hope of stimulating enquiry into the earlier history of Balochistan and of the various clans now and in times past inhabiting it (such page in the world's history being at present almost blank) and not as authoritative conclusions. It is probable that my suggestions that the Rinds, Marrīs, and other clans who now claim to be the "pur sang" of the Baloch, are not Baloch at all, may find many warm dissentients, but it will be necessary at any rate for such dissentients to define whom they call Baloch and give a derivation of the name; to offer a more plausible one than I have ventured on, *viz.*, *Balōc*=*Gadrōs*; to trace back to Aleppo the Rinds and other clans claiming to have migrated thence; and to explain away the statements of Firdusī and other authors that certain Baloch clans, *named by them*, and who still exist in the country under the same names, had their habitat in Makrān *long* before the Muḥammadan era.

On some rare Muhammadan Coins.—*By* Surgeon-Captain W. Vost.

(With two Plates.)

[Read April 1895.]

I. Shēr Shāh Sūrī.

Plate II. Fig. 1. [W. Crooke, C.S.]

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches.

Obverse.

In double square—

شاه سلطان
شیـــر
خلد الله ملکه

Æ
172
1·07

Lower margin—

شیر گڈھ followed by words which do not appear to be either a date, or عرف قنوج. Mint: Shérgaṛh. *Other margins*, doubtful.

Reverse.

In double square, Kalimah and probably names of companions of Muḥammad.

Plate II. Fig. 2. [W. Crooke, C.S.]

Obverse and Reverse.

Æ
165
0·85

As on Fig. 1.

Plate II. Fig. 3. [W. Crooke, C.S.]

Obverse and Reverse.

Æ
172
0·75

As on Fig. 1, but no margins.

On all three coins 6-rayed star above ر of شیر, and 5-rayed star in upper left hand corner of double square of reverse.

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches.

As the letters, position and style of ornaments on coins Figs. 2 and 3 agree so minutely with those on Fig. 1, I think they must all have been minted at Shērgaṛh. Mr. Rodgers believes a coin like Fig. 3, in the March Number of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1888, to be a forgery.

PLATE II. FIG. 4.

In square areas with a loop at the corners:—

Obverse.

Æ
307
0·9

سلطان
شیـــرشاه
خلد الله ملکه

Mint: Chunār.

Upper margin, ... ابوالمظ; *right* ضرب چنار; *lower*, illegible; *left*, absent.

Reverse.

فیعهـــد
المیـــرة
الحالمی

951 Ḥ.

Upper margin ... العد; right ۹۴۱ سنه; *lower* and *left* illegible.

Rupees only were known of the Chunār mint.

Unique.

II. ISLĀM SHĀH, SŪRĪ.

PLATE II. FIG. 5. [DR. W. HOEY, C.S.]

Obverse.

Æ
316
0·9

الواثق بتائید
الرحمن الو
شـــــــاه
ا ثق اسلام سلطان
الله
خلد ملکه و سلطانه

Reverse.

دار الضرب (? دارالجرت)
فرعهد الملکه
العادل اسلام
لودهانه بلده (?)

(Date here not seen).

PLATE II. FIG. 6. [W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Æ 316 0·9

Obverse and Reverse.

As on Fig. 5, with date ٩٩ *x*.

The mint appears to be either Lūdhiāna لودهيانه, as suggested in the *Journal, Asiatic Society*, by Mr. Rodgers, or possibly Būdhāna بودهانه in the Muẓaffarnagar district of the North-Western Provinces.

These appear to be the same as those beginning with No. 84, Islām Shāh, in the "Coins of the Mogul Emperors of India," and are of importance in shewing clearly several words of the legends not previously correctly read.

III. MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, SŪRĪ.

PLATE II. FIG. 7. [W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Æ 302 0·83

Obverse.

٩]٩٠ ٥ 960 Ḥ.

[ش]ا محمد ×

السلطان (?)

Reverse.

ناصر الدنيا و الدين

ابو الفتح Mint:

[منبر]ک جون [پور] Jaunpūr.

Compare No. 8, p. 54, "Mogul Emperors of India," Rodgers, 1894.

Unique.

PLATE II. FIG. 8. [W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Æ 153 0·68

Obverse.

بنا]يد الرحمن

محمد × عا]دل

Reverse

ين الد ...

٩٦٣ 963 Ḥ

[ضرب چ]هوسه Mint: Chūsa.

In the Indian Museum Catalogue, Part I, 1894, there is a rupee of Muḥammad Shāh Sūr, from the Chhūnsī mint.

Unique.

IV. Akbar.

Plate II. Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12.

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches. Æ		
	Obverse.	
	دار الخلافه	
302 —0·87	فلوس	
309 —0·82	ســـــکه	
312 —0·85	بهرایچ	Mint:
162½—0·73	ضرب	Bahrāich.
	Reverse.	
	و	
	هشت د	
	هـــفـــتا	
	نهصد	
	ســـنه	
	في تاریخ	
	۹.....۷	978 Ḥ.

The 14 coins of the Bahrāich mint, I have seen, are dated in 976 or 978 Ḥ. They are at once recognized by the 6-rayed star in the loop of س of falūs. Many of the reverses of these coins have not the word سنه. I have shewn the numerals in the position I have seen them on some specimens. Bahrāich has not before been recorded as one of Akbar's mints. From a comparision of the four coins now figured the legend can be made out.

Plate II. Fig. 13.

Æ	*Obverse.*	
	دار الخلافه	Mint:
316	خطه اوده	Audh.
0·85	ضرب	
	Reverse.	
	Illegible.	

The Āīn-i-Akbarī tells us "Ayodhya, commonly called Awadh" was one of the mints of Akbar from which copper was issued. The word خطه occurs on coins of Bābar and Humāyūn of the Jaunpur mint, and on some of Akbar struck at Kālpī.

Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 14. [W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Obverse.

Æ
301
0·9

[? اكبر] و غازي (?)
بادشـ
٩٦٦
محمد سنه (?)
ملكه و سـ

966 Ḥ.

Reverse.

Kalimah in two lines.

At page 222 of the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1890, Mr. Rodgers has given (Fig. 19, Plate ii.) a coin very similar in appearance to this weighing 315 grains and dated 966 Ḥ. He reads the obverse inscription :—

جلال الدين محمد اكبر ضرب سنه ٩٦٦

PLATE III., FIG. 15.

Obverse.

Æ
309
0·85

پور
جلال
...

Mint:
Jalālpūr.

Reverse.

چهار
هفتاد [و]
نهصد و

974 Ḥ.

Jalālpūr, on the right bank of the Jhelam river in the Panjāb, was a flourishing place in Akbar's time. General Cunningham identified it with the ancient Bucephala. Now it is of no importance.

As this coin was found in Audh, it may have been struck at one of the two towns, named Jalālpūr in that province.

Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 16. [V. A. SMITH, C.S.]

Obverse.

In oblong area—

AR
Square.
174
0·7 × ·75

١٠٠٠
محمد اكبـــر با [د شاه
جلال الدين

1000 Ḥ.

Margins illegible.

Reverse (not shewn).

Kalimah.

Coin peculiar in having figures instead of الف for 1000 Ḥ.

PLATE III., FIG. 17.

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches.

Obverse.

Æ
150
0·7

گورکپور
فلوس

Mint:
Gōrakhpūr.

Reverse.

۵۰ الهی
دي

50th year.
Month: Daī.
Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 18.

Obverse.

Æ
37½
0·4

[پور]
گورک

Mint:
Gōrakhpūr.

Reverse.

(ه)شتا(د)
نهصد
سنه

980 Ḥ.

Ornament of 4 loops before first گ of mint name.
Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 19. [V. A. SMITH, C.S.]

Obverse.

In a circle with dotted circle outside:—

Æ
38
0·45

گورکپور
فلوس

Mint:
Gōrakhpūr.

Reverse.

Part of a circle visible:—

۵۰ الهی
خور داد

50th year.
Month: Khūrdād.

Part of ornament as on Fig. 18. Thomas, in *Chronicles*, page 428, gives گورکهپور as the spelling of this mint.

Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 20.

Obverse.

	تنکه اکبر شاهے	¼ tankah.
Æ	چهارم حصه	
154	۷	(? = 1007 Ḥ.)
0·7	(?) سنه	

Reverse.

۴۴ [۴] الهے	44th year.
ابان	Month: Abān.

PLATE III., FIG. 21.

Obverse and Reverse.

Æ	As on Fig. 20, but بهست	Month:
158	اردی	Ardībhist.
0·77		

PLATE III., FIG. 22. (W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Obverse.

Æ	(?) دار الخلافه	Mint:
318·5	فلوس	Kalānūr.
0·85	ضرب کلانور	

Reverse.

چ] ها [ر	
ه شتاد [و	984 Ḥ.
نهصد [و	
سنه	
فی	

Star of 4 points in س of falūs, and 4-looped ornament attached to tail of د of نهصد.

Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 23.

Obverse.

[خلد] الله تعا ملکه ے	
N	محمد اکبر بادشاه
180	جلال الدین غاز ے
0·75	[ضر] ب دار... اله اباد Mint: Allahābād.

Reverse. (Not shewn).

Kalimah, with (?) ۹۷۸ in right hand lower corner of coin. 987 Ḥ.

Unique.

V. Jahāngīr.

Plate III., Fig. 24.

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches.

Obverse.

In 8-foil, in a circle, with dotted circle outside:—

Æ
136
0·95

شـــد
روان

Reverse.

In 8 foil, &c.

۱۰۲۲ 1022 Ḥ.
قندهار Mint: Qandahār.
فلوس

A coin of this type given by me to Mr. C. J. Rodgers is now in the Lahore Museum. It is dated 1019 Ḥ., 5th year, and weighs 129 grains.

Besides the one in the plate another in my collection, 1027 Ḥ., weighs as much as 154 grains. Neither appears to have had any regnal year following ن on the obverse. They are not much worn. No others are known. Obtained at Quetta.

VI. Shāh Jahān.

Plate III., Fig. 25. [W. Crooke, C.S.]

Obverse.

Æ
38·5
0·53

شاه جهان
فلوس

Reverse.

نارنول Mint:
ب Nārnōl.
ضو

VII. Aurangzīb.

Plate III., Fig. 26. [W. Crooke, C.S.]

Obverse.

Æ
307·5
0·85

سنه
اباد
شـــاه
جهـــان
ضرب

Reverse.

سنه — Mint:
مبارک — Shāhjahānābād.
جلوس

Good specimens give the regnal and *Jalūs* years respectively above سنه of the obverse and reverse.

PLATE III., FIG 27.

Obverse.

N	اورنگ زیب عالم گیر	
171	۱۱۱۵	1115 H.
0·85	شـــــــاه	
	زد چو مهـــر منیر	
	ســـــکـــــه	
	[درجـــــهـــــان]	

Reverse.

جلوس — Mint:
میمنت — Dāru-l-Jihād
دار الجهاد تته — Tattah.
۴۷ — 47 jalūs.
مانو [س]
ضـــرب

On obverse ۱۱۱۵ below یب; reverse ۴۷ below ۷.

"Dar-ul-Jihād" we know from rupees of Aurangzīb was applied to Ḥaidarābād (Sind). This is the first time it has been observed on a mohur, and it is interesting to discover that Tattah, still lower down the Indus, also used the epithet.

VIII. MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

PLATE III., FIG. 28.

Obverse.

Æ	محمد
190	شـــــاه
0·8	[با] د شاه غازے
	(?) ســـکـــه مبارک

Reverse.

سـنـــه — 6 jalūs.
٦ — Mint:
[جا]و ســـــ — Ḥāfiẓābād
ضرب
حافظا باد

Ḥāfiẓābād, 32 miles west of Gujrānwālā, Panjāb,

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Weight in grains and measurement in English inches.

formerly of great importance, is recorded in the Aīn-i-Akbarī as the head-quarters of a Mahāl. This is a new mint. The coin is of the 6th year, probably of Muḥammad Shāh Mughul.

Unique.

IX. SHĀH 'ALAM.

PLATE III., FIG. 29.

Obverse.

Æ 169 0·9

شاه عالم
ـــــــے
باد شاه غاز
ـــــــنے
کـــــــ
سـکـــه مبار ۱۱۸۴ 1184 Ḥ.

Star of 8 dots below م of عالم, and ornament of 3 rays above ب of مبارک.

Reverse.

مصطفے اباد Mint:
ضـرب Muṣṭafābād.
جلوس میمنت مانوس
۱۱ 11 jalūs.

Star of central dot and 7 rays in س of جلوس and part of one of three-pointed rays in س of مانوس. 1184, 11th year.

Muṣṭafābād is between Sahāranpūr and Lūdhiāna.

Unique.

PLATE III., FIG. 30.

Obverse.

Æ 192 0·85

عالم شا
۱ ۱۲ 1212 Ḥ
ـــــــهے
فلوس

Reverse.

اباد Mint:
حسین Ḥusainābād.
[ضر] ب
[جلوس] ۳۹ 39 jalūs.

Ḥusainābād is probably that portion of Lakhnau (Lucknow) known by this name.

Unique.

TABLE OF CONTENTS PLATE II.

No.	Name.	Mint.	Epithet.	Year. (H *or* I)	Month.	Jalūs.	Metal.	Weight.	Measurement.
1	Shēr Shāh Sūrī	Shērgaṛh	...	.....	.....	...	Æ	172	1·0
2	„ „ „	.....	...	.....	.....	...	„	165	0·85
3	„ „ „	.....	...	.....	.....	...	„	172	0·75
4	„ „ „	Chunār	...	951	.....	...	Æ	307	0·9
5	Islām „ „	(?) Būdhāna	(?) Dāru-ṣ-ṣarb	.....	.....	...	„	316	0·9
6	„ „ „	„	„	95x	.....	...	„	316	0·9
7	Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh Sūrī	Jaunpūr	Mutabarak	960	.....	...	„	302	0·83
8	„ „ „ „	Chūsa	...	963	.....	...	„	153	0·68
9	Akbar ...	Bahrāich	Dāru-l-khilāfat	978	.....	...	„	302	0·87
10	„ ...	„	...	„	.....	...	„	309	0·82
11	„ ...	„	...	97x	.....	...	„	312	0·85
12	„ ...	„	...	97x	.....	...	„	162·5	0·73
13	„ ...	Audh	Khitta	.....	.....	...	„	316	0·85

TABLE OF CONTENTS PLATE III.

No.	Name.	Mint.	Epithet.	Year. (H *or* I)	Month.	Jalus.	Metal.	Weight.	Measurement.
14	Akbar	.....	...	966	.....	...	Æ	301	0·9
15	„	Jalālpūr...	...	974	.....	...	„	309	0·85
16	„	.....	...	1000	.....	...	Æ	174	0·7×0·75
17	„	Gōrakhpūr	...	50	Daï	...	Æ	150	0·7
18	„	„	...	980	.....	...	„	37·5	0·4
19	„	„	...	50	Khūrdād	...	„	38	0·45
20	„	.....	...	44	Abān	...	„	154	0·7
21	„	.....	...	44	Ardibhist	...	„	158	0·77
22	„	Kalānūr ...	Dāru-l-khilāfat	... 984	.....	...	„	318·5	0·85
23	„	Allahābād	Dāru-l- (?)	987	.....	...	Æ	180	0·75
24	Jahāngīr	Qandahār	...	1022	.....	...	Æ	136	0·95
25	Shāh Jahān	Nārnōl ...	...		.....	...	„	38·5	0·53
26	Aurangzīb	Shāhjahānābād	...		.....	...	„	307·5	0·85
27	„	Tattah ...	Dāru-l-jihād	1115	.....	47	Æ	171	0·85
28	Muḥammad Shāh	Ḥāfizābād	...		.....	6	Æ	190	0·8
29	Shāh ʻĀlam	Muṣṭafābād	...	1184	.....	11	Æ	169	0·9
30	„ „	Ḥusainābād	...	1212	.....	39	Æ	192	0·85

Coins of the Musalmān Kings of Ma'bar.—*By* CHAS. J. RODGERS, ESQ., *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.*

[With two Plates.]

[Read April 1895.]

In the two plates which accompany this paper I have drawn some coins which were sent to me by the Rev. J. E. Tracy of Kodaikanal in the District of Madura, Madras Presidency. The last two coins, however, are from my old collection, now in the Lahore Museum. Each coin's weight is below it; the metal is above it. (M=mixed metal). T=Rev. J. E. Tracy. L. M.=Lahore Museum.

I will at once give the transcriptions of the legends and reserve my remarks on the kings to the end of this paper.

Plate IV (1) الامام العادل — محمد بن تغلق شاه

„ (2) do. — do.

„ (3) do.

„ (4) جلال الدنيا و الدين — احسن شاه ۷۳۷

„ (5) السلطان الا عظم — احسن شاه السلطان

„ (6) سلطان السلاطين — In circular area :— احسن شاه

In margin :— سنه... و ثلثين و سبعمايه

(unit word not plain).

„ (7) علا الدنيا و الدين — اروحر شاه السلطان — اروحر

„ (8) do. — In circular area :— اروحر شاه — In margin :— سنه اربعين و سبعمايه — } has been read اروجي

„ (9) قطب الدنيا و الدين — فيروز شاه ۷۴۰

„ (10) السلطان الا عظم غياث الدنيا و الدين — In circular area :— محمد دامغان شاه

In margin :— سنه احدى اربعين و سبعمايه

Plate IV (11) السلطان الا عظم غياث الدنيا و الدين

" (12) In circular area :— ناصرالدنيا و الدين

In margin :—

محمود عيال دامغانشاه السلطان سنه خمس (؟) اربعين و سبعمايه [1]

" (13) السلطان الا عظم عادلشاه السلطان

" (14) السلطان الحليم (؟) ٧٥٧ In circular area :— عادل شاه

In margin :— سنه تسع وخمسين و سبعمايه

" (15) السلطان الا عظم عادلشاه السلطان

" (16) do. do.

" (17) do. do.

" (18) برگزيده الله خادم مصطفى ٧٦٥

Plate V (19) do. ٧٦٧ do.

" (20) do. ٧٧٠ do.

" (21) محمد مصطفى ٧٦٥ .....

" (22) برگزيده رحمان سكندر شاه سلطان ٧٧٩

" (23) برگزيده الله فخرشاه مبارکشاه شاه جهان ...

" (24) السلطان الا عظم نصرة الدنيا و الدين

" (25) do. شمس الدنيا و الدين

" (26) برگزيده الله فخر شا (ه شاهان) مبارکشاه شاه جهان

" (27) do. full do.

" (28) do. do.

" (29) برگزيده رحمان سكندر شاه سلطان ٧٧٤

" (30) do. do.

" (31) برگزيده الله فخر شا... مبارکشاه شاه جهان ٧٦٥

" (32) الواثق بنصر الله ٧٣٣ محمد بن تغلق شاه

" (33) السلطان الا عظم جلال الدنيا و الدين

" (34) [2] غاث الدنيا و الدين محمد ابن السلطان

" (35) علا الدنيا و الدين سكندر شاه السلطان

" (36) ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح اسمعيل شاه

[1] The word خمس is legible on a coin since sent by Mr. Tracy.

[2] This coin was sent me after my paper had been sent to the Society.

These coins supply us with matter for a small history of Ma'bar (معبر). They give us names and they give us dates. Coins (1) to (3) are two varieties of a type of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, not mentioned by Thomas and not found in any bazār of Northern India. They are of Ma'bar fabric, and show that that Sulṭān held sway in the South of India. Coin No. (32) is one mentioned by Thomas, but he reads the obverse الواثق بعصر الله and his coin is dated 730 Ḥ. This type is not in the British Museum, neither is it in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There is one in the Lahore Museum, Rodgers' collection (Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's No. 30). But this has no date, and the obverse legend is in a double circle and the reverse in a single one. We may regard this coin (32), therefore, as a Ma'bar coin of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, struck in 733 H.

Coin (4) is one of Jalālu-d-dunyā-wa-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh struck in 737 Ḥ. So is coin (5). Coin (6) is a third variety of the same Sulṭān. Here he calls himself the 'Sulṭān of Sulṭāns.' The date is given in Arabic words in the margin, but the unit word is not plain. The ثلثين 'thirty,' is plain. Coin (40) is a fourth type of this king's coins.

In Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 618, we find the following, taken from the French translation of Ibn i Batūtah. 'The Sulṭān had appointed the *Sharīf* Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan Shāh to be governor of the country of Ma'bar which is at the distance of six months' journey from Dehlī.[1] This Jalālu-d-dīn rebelled, usurped the ruling power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the sovereign, and struck in his own name gold and silver money. On one side of the coins[2] there was impressed the following (letters): *ṭo'e* and *he*, *ye* and *sīn* (these letters, which form the titles of the 20th and 26th chapters of the Qu'rān are among the epithets bestowed upon Muḥammad), and (the words) "father of *faqīrs* and of the indigent, the glory of the world and of religion." On the other face the following: "He who puts his trust in the help of the all merciful, Aḥsan Shāh, Sulṭān." The Sulṭān, when he was informed of this revolt, set forth to suppress it.'

We know that Muḥammad bin Tughlaq never got any further than Talingāna. His army was there attacked by cholera, and he returned to Daulatābād. Firishta gives us the year 742 Ḥ. as the date of this expedition and calls the rebel ruler 'Sayyid Ḥasan.' Now Captain Tufnell says the dates 738 and 740 appear on the silver coins of Jalālu-d-dīn. And Ibn-i-Batūtah says that when Jalālu-d-dīn died, 'he appointed as his successor, Alaioddīn, one of his Amīrs. After this,

[1] Further on he says Ma'bar is three months' march from the capital of Tilang.

[2] No coins have yet been found bearing these legends. They were probably the large silver and gold coins, which the Ṣarrāfs melted down.

his brother's son Kotboddīn came to the supreme rule.'[1] The coins we have give us the name of 'Alāu-d-dīn, Arōḫar Shāh or Adūjī Shāh, and his date in the margin of (8) as 740 Ḥ. Coin (9) gives us the dates of Quṭbu-d-dīn as 740 (the ۴ is reversed on the coin) and his successor was [1]Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Dāmghānī, an Amīr of Jalālu-d-din to whose daughter he was married; and on coin (10) we find in the margin the date 741 Ḥ. in Arabic words. Now all this is plain sailing. Jalālu-d-dīn died in 740 Ḥ. 'Alāu-d-dīn could have reigned but a few months of the same year. Quṭbu-d-dīn reigned only 40 days and was murdered by his subjects.[1] His coin is dated 740 Ḥ. Dāmghānī succeeded him in the same year. Coins (10), (11) and (34) are of this king.

Coin (12) is one of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḫmūd,[1] nephew of Dāmghānī. I read his date in the margin as 745 Ḥ., but have doubts about the unit word. Ibn i Batūtah left Ma'bar in this Sulṭān's reign. Coins (13) (14) (15) (16) and (17) are of 'Ādil Shāh. He calls himself the "meek" (حلیم) Sulṭān on (14). On this coin is a date in the margin 759 Ḥ. Three marks on the obverse may be ٧٥٧, but they are probably diacritical marks.

Coins (18) to (21) have no king's name on them, but they have dates 765, 767, 770. برگزیدہ اللہ or 'The Elect of God' and خادم مصطفی 'the slave of the Chosen-one' are the names or titles on these coins. Now (31) is of the date 765Ḥ., and gives the name of the king as Mubārak Shāh, King of the World (مبارکشاہ شاہ جہان), and his title on the other side is برگزیدہ اللہ with an addition فخر شاہ شاہان or 'the Glory of the King of kings.' Coins (23) (26) (27) (28) help us in this assignment of all these to one king — Mubārak Shāh.

There are three other dated coins (29) and (30) of برگزیدہ رحمان. or 'The elect of the Merciful,' Sikandar Shāh. One is dated 774 Ḥ: (22) is of the same type, but is dated 779Ḥ. (35) is another type of this king's coins.

We have still left two coins (24) and (25) of Naṣratu-d-dīn and Shamsu-d-dīn respectively.[2] These coins are of persons of whom we know absolutely nothing. There are no other types of them to help us with dates.

Coin (36) is still left to be considered. Its legends are plain ناصرالدنیا والدین ابو الفتح اسمعیل شاہ. Amongst the nobles who rebelled

[1] Dr. Lee's Ibn i Batūtah, Chap. XX.

[2] Firishta has, و شہاب سلطان را نصرت خان خطاب دادہ ولایت بیدر حوالہ او نمود This may be the man who struck (24). It is within the bounds of possibility that (24) and (36) were struck by one and the same king.

against Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was one who is styled by Firishta 'Ism'aīl Fatḥ brother of Gul Affghān' and it is added :—

بپادشاهي برداشته نصيرالدين خطاب كردند .

• بيت •

سمعيل فتح را دران دارد گير
بشاهي بخواندند شاه نصيـــر

All throughout Firishta calls him 'Ism'aīl Fatḥ.' He did not enjoy being king in such troublous times and he resigned. Ḥasan Gāngō was elected in his place. This was in 748. So this coin (36) must have been struck about 747 or 48Ḥ. It does not really, therefore, belong to the kings of Ma'bar.

It will be noticed that the first king of Ma'bar was Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan Shāh. His reign was from 737 to 740Ḥ., according to coins. Now Ḥasan Gāngō became independent in 848Ḥ. He made Gulburga his capital and called it Ḥasanābād. So says Firishta, who quotes a lot of poetry in which Ḥasan and Ḥasanābād frequently occur. But as on the coins of the dynasty of Ḥasan, Gulburga is always called احسن اباد Aḥsanābād, the full name of this sovereign was ''Alāu-d-dunyā-wa-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh Gāngō Bahmanī.' We must not suppose that Jalālu-d-dīn had anything to do with Aḥsanābād. He was only king in Ma'bar, which is a long way from Gulburga. Ma'bar seems to have been that part of India opposite Ceylon, and Madura was its capital. When Ḥasan Gāngō reigned in Aḥsanābād, he never seems to have taken any notice whatever of Ma'bar and its affairs. All the descendants of Ḥasan are well known. They also abstained from meddling in Ma'bar matters.

One thing at first seems strange. The coins of the kings of Ma'bar are found apparently in abundance. The coins of early kings of the Bahmanī dynasty of Gulburga-Aḥsanābād are amongst the rare things in our Museum cabinets. The reason is given by Firishta. The Bahmanī kings quarrelled with the Ṣarrāfs and murdered a lot of them. Coins of Hindū kings were melted down, and only Muhammadan coins were allowed. When the Ṣarrāfs, however, got a chance they melted down Muhammadan coins and made current Hindū ones. In this general melting down Muhammadan Dekkan coins disappeared. The Honorable Mr. Gibbs rescued a few of them, but nowadays an early Bahmanī gold or silver coin is rarely met with.

For nearly all the coins in these two plates I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. J. E. Tracy, who kindly permitted me to draw them. For coins (35) and (36) I am indebted to the Lahore Museum. When I made out my Catalogue, I put down coin (36) as an unassigned

coin. I met with the name of Ism'aīl Fatḥ in reading the story of Ḥasan Gāngō.

We may now sum up what these coins teach us. They simply record the fact (1) that Muḥammad bin Tughlaq held possession of Ma'bar, and (2) that the following kings reigned there :—

Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan Shāh	...	737—740 Ḥ.
'Alāu-d-dīn Aroḥar or Adūjī Shāh		740 Ḥ.
Quṭbu-d-dīn Fīrūz Shāh	...	740 Ḥ.
Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad Dāmghān Shāh ...	... ...	740 Ḥ to—
Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muḥammād Shāh	...	745 Ḥ.
'Ādil Shāh, the Meek	...	759 Ḥ.
Mubārak Shāh, King of the World &c.	... ...	765—770 Ḥ.
'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh	...	774—779 Ḥ.
Naṣratu-d-dīn	... ...	(in Beder ?)
Shamsu-d-dīn	... ...	
Nāṣiru-d-dīn Ism'aīl Fatḥ	...	747-8 Ḥ. (in Gulburga.)

Captain Tufnell in "Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India" was the first to bring these coins to notice. I think that if he had had better coins he would have avoided some mistakes in the coins of the latter kings. He did not read one margin: we have seen that they afford considerable help as they yield dates. He took برگزیدہ for بن کریدہ and رحمان for the name of a king. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and Khādim i Muṣṭafā were also made into kings. We know them only as names or titles assumed by the very pious but somewhat vainglorious Mubārak Shāh. Fakhr and Shāh Jahān were made into kings also, by Captain Tufnell. Two coins not in our plates were given by him; one has عادل on one side with an illegible margin; on the reverse is شاہ in a circle. Another has in large letters on one side عادلشاہ; the other side is not given. A third coin seems to read فخرالدنیا و الدین and السلطان الاعظم. If this be correct we must admit Fakhru-d-dīn into the list of kings of Ma'bar.

I may add that it was from Captain Tufnell and from Messrs T. M. Ranga Chari, B. A., and T. Desika Chari, B. A., that I first of all became acquainted with these coins. The coins in my Lahore Collection, from South India, came from these three gentlemen.

The present paper owes its existence solely to the courtesy of the Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A.

Buddhism in Bengal since the Muḥammadan Conquest.—By Hara Prasāda Çāstrī, M. A.

[Read January 1895.]

Whatever might have been the fate of Buddhism in other parts of India, in the Provinces of Eastern India, it had to suffer serious persecution, nay, it may be said, that Buddhism was expelled from Eastern India by fire and sword. In making excavations at Kuçinagara ashes were discovered after a certain depth, plainly indicating that fire was one of the agencies employed in the expulsion of Buddhism.[1] At Sārnāth in Benares, the excavations laid open cook-rooms containing half-boiled rice rotting there for centuries.[2] The catastrophe was so sudden that the poor Bhikṣus could not even complete their meals. Sir A. Cunningham quotes two passages, one from Tibetan and another from Muḥammadan sources, to shew that at the last Buddhist capital of Bihār, Bakhtiyár Khiljī put a large number of shaven Brāhmaṇs, *i. e.*, Buddhist Bhikṣus assembled at a monastery, to the sword.[3]

All these facts plainly shew that fire and sword were employed in the destruction of Buddhism in Eastern India. But who employed them? In the case of Ōdantapurī, the last capital of Bihār, it was certainly the Muḥammadans, and presumably in other cases also, they were the destroyers. The Hindū mode of persecuting Buddhists, was quite different. It was persecution and annoyance, and not destruction, Çaçāṅka cut down the Bō tree.[4] Udayana held a disputation with the life of his Buddhist antagonist at stake.[5] Gaṅgēçōpādhyāya wrote his great work on Logic with the express object of प्रचण्डपाषण्डतमश्छित्तौपेया *i.e.*, for dispelling the darkness created by powerful heretics; and Udayana wrote a work entitled *Bauddha-dhikkāra*, or, 'Fie on the Buddhists!' Another Hindū revivalist prohibited the sounding of

[1] Rep. Arch. Sur., Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 62-63.
[2] The same, Vol. I, pp. from 126 to 130.
[3] The same, Vol. XI, p. 185.
[4] The same, Vol. III, pp. 80-81.
[5] Gaurē Brāhmaṇ, p. 102-105.

the bell at Buddhist Vihāras, till he was worsted in disputation.[1] This is the Hindū way of persecution. The Sēna rājās of Bengal used to grant lands to Brāhmaṇs bordering on Buddhist Vihāras, thus setting up a perpetual source of annoyance to the inmates of the monastery.[2] Ridicule was one of the powerful weapons used by the Hindūs in annoying the Buddhists, who were held up in dramas like the Prabōdha Candrōdaya, as great libertines, fond of wine and women. In later Tantras too, Buddha and his followers are regarded as men of pleasure. Their method of obtaining spiritual success, was by means of wine and women. In the Cīnācāra-tantra Tantra, Vaçiṣṭhā is sent to China for obtaining success by means of the Tārā-mantra from Buddha, who lived surrounded by women in China. This is annoyance and teasing, but not destruction.

Assuming, therefore, that the Muḥammadan conquest dealt a death blow to the expiring efforts of Buddhism in Eastern India, it may be asked, was the destruction of Buddhism caused by Muḥammadan conquest complete? People think it to be so, but this is physically impossible. The Muḥammadan conquest itself was not a complete conquest, the Pāṭhāns held the country simply in military occupation. They held some of the big cities and left the rest of the country to govern itself the best it could. It was not possible for them to destroy Buddhism all over the country. Then again, it is difficult to say that the conquerors could distinguish between Hindūism and Buddhism. They were iconoclasts. They destroyed idols, no matter whether they were Hindū or Buddhist. In fact, the pressure of the conquest was felt by both Hindūs and Buddhists alike. The Brāhmaṇs from Rāṛh and Varēndra flocked to Vikramapura,[3] the last stronghold of the Sēna rājās, and up to this date there are more Rāṛhī Brāhmaṇs at that remote corner of Bengal than in Rāṛha itself, especially the higher class *Kulīns*. To drive away Brāhmaṇs and to destroy a few families is one thing, but quite another thing is the wholesale massacre of Buddhist monks, assembled in central Vihāras during the *Vassā*. If one single monastery is destroyed with all its monks, a whole district, nay, even a larger area, will be without religious leaders and religious teachers altogether. A few cases of massacre like that at Ōdantapurī, would leave the entire Buddhist population of Bengal and Bihār without leaders. One would be disposed to account for the existence of a vast Muḥammadan population in the Districts of Bengal, amounting to 25 millions

[1] Travels in the Western World, translated from Chinese by Beal, Vol. II.

[2] Gauṛē Brāhmaṇ, p. 281, line XII.

[3] See the article Kulīna in the Viçva Keṣa.

of people, by the easy conversion of the Buddhist population after the destruction of their monasteries.

The helpless Buddhists would naturally be inclined more to Muḥammadanism, which has no restriction of food, &c., than to Hindūism, which imposes thousands of restrictions on every action of life.

But was Buddhism actually effaced from the soil of Bengal and Bihār? People think so, but there were traces of Buddhism till very lately. A Kāyastha belonging to Magadha, copied a Buddhist MS. in 1446, The MS. is now at Cambridge.[1] That shews signs of lingering Buddhism. Dr. Hoey has discovered an inscription at Sēt, dated in the thirteenth century, dedicating a temple to the Buddha.[2] Buddhist monks were at Bōdh Gayā so late as 1331. The Bōdh Gayā temple was repaired by a king of Arakan in 1305. A biographer of Caitanya, named Cuḍāmaṇi Dāsa, makes Buddhists rejoice at the birth of Caitanya. One of the great millionaires of Sātgāõ in Caitanya's time, belonging to the Sōnārbaniā caste, refuses to accept Vaiṣṇavism on the ground that he would not like to be saved, when the whole world round him is plunged in misery.[3] This is pure Buddhistic sentiment absolutely unknown to the Hindūs. Çūlapāṇi, writing after the Muḥammadan conquest, makes the very sight of a Buddhist an occasion for performing expiatory ceremonies. The word of the text he quotes is *Nagna*, or naked, which he explains as *Bauddhādayaḥ*. How could he explain that word that way if there were no Buddhists in his country?

These facts will lead to one conclusion that traces of Buddhism were to be found so late as Caitanya's time. In speaking of Buddhism I do not take into consideration the fact of the Buddha's being regarded as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, for in that case all Hindus would be in one sense, Buddhists. No trace of Buddhism has been found after Caitanya's time.

It seems, however, surprising that a religion which existed in Eastern India in such splendour from 600 B.C. to 1200 A.D., should be so utterly destroyed that no vestige of its existence could be found anywhere in Bengal at this day only 700 years after its final overthrow. But fortunately it is not so. A sort of corrupt Buddhism mixed up with a variety of Aryan and non-Aryan forms of worship, still obtains in Bengal amongst a very large number of lower class people. Of the various castes inhabiting Bengal, Ḍōms never acknowledge the superiority of Brāhmaṇs. They get all the religious ceremonies of the

1 See Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Preface, p. 4 and Book, pp. 69-70.

2 See pp. 70-71 of the Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur, Vol. I.

3 Rep. Arch. Surv., III, pp. 104-105.

caste, performed by paṇḍits of the Ḍōm tribe, and these Ḍōms are the constituted Purōhitas of Dharma, a deity whom I venture to identify with Buddha-dēva. One of the names of Buddha is Dharma-rāja, and this is precisely the name by which the deity Dharma is spoken of by his worshippers. The ancient Bengali literature consists of works describing the way in which different deities manifested themselves in this world and the way their worship became prevalent. I have elsewhere given an account of the prevalence of the worship of Manasā, or Goddess of serpents. There are works also describing how the deity Dharma-rāja manifested himself, and how his worship became prevalent.

According to Ghana-rāma who wrote in 1710 his magnificent work the *Çrī-dharma-maygala*, on this subject, his work is based on two previous works, one by Rūpa-rāma and another by Mayūra-bhaṭṭa. All these again are said to be based on the Hākanda-purāṇa. My enquiries have led to the fact that works of Rūpa-rāma and Mayūra-bhaṭṭa are still extant, but I have not yet succeeded in getting copies of these works.

The story as given by Ghana-rāma, is this. The son of the great king of Gauḍa, Dharma-pāla, had appointed his brother-in-law Mahā-mada, as his minister. Mahā-mada had another sister named Rañjā, for whom he had a dislike, but she was a special favourite of Dharma-rāja. Mahā-mada tries in various ways to destroy his sister's son, Lāu-sēn, but Dharma always protects him. Lāu-sēn is persecuted in various ways, but all these persecutions fail. Lāu-sēen is then sent to lead arduous expeditions against distant countries, such as Kāma-rūpa and Orissa. In all of these Dharma makes him successful. Mahā-mada at last comes to his senses and takes his nephew into favour. Kālu Ḍōm, Lāu-sēn's favorite general, becomes the constituted Purōhita of Dharma and obtains the privilege of being allowed to drink wine and eat hog's flesh. Dharma is described as superior to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahēçvara, and as having Hanumat as his great general. Ghaṇa-rāma's work is a lengthy one, it repays perusal both as a work of poetic art and as embodying curious informaton about ancient Bengal.

The great Buddhist monarch Dharma-pāla, is very well known. He was the first great monarch of the Pāla Dynasty, who were Buddhists. It is also known that he conquered Gauḍa and led expeditions to Kāma-rūpa, where also a branch of this dynasty ruled for a long time. It is probable that Buddhism mixed up with some aboriginal form of worship, gave rise to a new form of worship, namely, that of Dharma during the ascendency of the Pāla Dynasty in Bengal, and that it being suited to the genius of the people, obtained a currency which

still lasts. That Buddhism has a wonderful aptitude in assimilating various forms of Demon and other worships, is well known from the history of Buddhism in Nēpāl and Tibet. The Dharma worship appears to be a similar assimilation of some old-world superstition with Buddhism.

My recent investigations into the mode of Dharma worship, during the Durgā pūjā holidays in the Sub-division of Cutwa, has added another link to the arguments for proving the identification of Dharmarāja with the Buddha. There is a Dharma temple at Çuōngāchi near Pātuli, the priest of which belongs to the Mayarā caste. He was questioned about the method of worship, and his answers led to important results. He said cooked food is never offered to Dharma; this is precisely the case with Buddhist and Jaina idols. They are regarded as emancipated men and not deities. Any cooked food when eaten by men becomes impure, and so no cooked food is offered to them. Any caste may worship Dharma. The Ḍōms do worship him and often offer hog's flesh to him, but the Mantra by which Dharma is meditated upon, is very curious. It leaves no doubt that he is the Buddha.

यस्यान्तो नादिमध्यो नच करचरणं नास्ति कायनिदानम्
नाकारं नादिरूपं नास्ति जन्मभ्र यस्य (ह्य जस्य ?)।
योगीन्द्रो ज्ञानगम्यो सकलजनहितं सर्वलोकैकनाथम्
तत्त्वं तं च निरञ्जनं मरवरद पातु वः शून्यमूर्त्तिः ॥

He who has no end, no beginning and no middle; he who has neither hands nor legs, he who has no germ of body; he who has no form, no primordial form; he who has no birth; that Yōgīndra, approachable by knowledge, friendly to all men, one protector of all creatures, the truth, the spotless, the giver of boons to mortal men; whose form is Çūnya or void; may he protect you!

The word Yōgīndra applies to the Buddha, as he is called Munīndra in the Amarakōṣa. He is approachable by knowledge, while Hindū deities are approachable by devotion.

Most of these adjectives may, though by some stretch of imagination, apply to Çiva or Viṣṇu. But there is one which can never be applied to a Hindū deity and which is a peculiar attribute of the Buddha. This is *Çūnya-mūrti*, identifying him with void; this is what the Prajña Pāramitā teaches, and is what constitutes the peculiarity of Buddhist teaching that everything resolves itself into *çūnya* or void. The Sanskrit of the Mantra as obtained from the Mayarā priest, is perfectly ungrammatical, and so I tried to get another version of it from a different part of the country, and if possible from a higher

class man. This I succeeded in getting from a small village near the Rajbāndh station in Bankurā.

Though this version is nearer to grammatical Sanskrit, yet it contains one serious grammatical blunder, and though the form in which it is put, looks like the Dhyāna or Mantra for meditating on a Hindū deity by saying चिन्तयेत् शून्यमूर्त्तौ, I fail to understand how the mind can be fixed on a void without beginning and without end, without legs, without arms, without head, and so on. This is in fact an attempt to give to a high Buddhist spiritual conception, a Hindū personified form, and the attempt is a miserable failure. The Mantra too, appears to have been written by an ignorant man in some form of ancient Prākrit, which many have tried to put in a sanskritised form.

Many would not like to believe that this low worship, accompanied with the sacrifice of pigs, and with Dhyāna and other Hindū forms of worship, can have anything to do with Buddhism, whose first vow was to refrain from killing animals, and which in its earliest forms at least, did away with worship altogether. But that it is so, will appear from translations from the history of Buddhism, by Lama Tāranātha of Tibet, kindly made for me by Babu Çarat Chandra Dās, C. I. E. and appended to this article.

I beg to draw attention to one passage of this translation. 'He (the Ḍōmācārya) preached the Tāntrik doctrine of Buddhism, called Dharma, to the people of Tippera, and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became *Siddhas* too. He was then invited to the country of Rāḍha, called Rārā in the common language of the people. The Rājā of that country was a bigoted follower of Brāhmaṇs, but seeing the supernatural powers of Ḍōmācārya, and his goodness and learning, he became changed in his views, and henceforth the "Dharma" Buddhism, in its Tāntrik phase became greatly honored and followed by the people of Bengal, Rāḍha and Tippāra. By the worship of Dharma, is meant, that of the Buddhist deities, such as Vajra-yōginī; Vajra-vārāhī; Vajra-bhairava (Kṣētra-pāla); Vajra-ḍākinī; the Nātha, and so on. In fact, in the latter days of Buddhism, the Dik-pālas, Dharma-pālas and other spirit protectors of Buddhism, became the object of worship to the exclusion of the Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas.'

That Vajra-yōginī, Vajra-bhairavas, and other Buddhist Tāntrik deities used to be worshipped in Bengal, there is no doubt. Many of them are still worshipped in a Hindūized form. But Kṣētra-pāla is still worshipped under his proper name in a non-brahmanic form by low-caste priests. Kṣētra-pāla is represented by some tree. The earth on which it grows has the miraculous power of removing barrenness, and producing male children in one who gives birth to daughters only.

There is a Kṣētrapāla tree at Khaḍ-daha, eight miles from Calcutta, and another at Çingī, in Burdwan.

From very ancient times Buddhist monks used to dispense medicines; that was one of the sources of their influence, nay, of their income. The Dharma priests to this day do dispense medicine. They generally pretend to have received certain specifics for certain diseases from their deity, and if the patient with a devout mind, uses the medicine and pays the votive offering after cure, he is sure to get rid of the disease. The Çuōngāchi Dharma has a specific for diarrhœa. The Jāmālpur Dharma cures not only diseases but grants whatever is desired of him. The Acalēçvara Dharma has a specific for bilious eruptions, and so on.

APPENDIX.

Extract from pages 11 *to* 14 *of "Bkah babs bdun."—By* Lama Tārānātha *of Tibet.*

(Translated by Ç'rī Çarat Chandra Das, C. I. E.)

Tāntrik Buddhism called Dharma (or Chhoṣ in Tibetan.)

During the reign of King Rāma-pāla, the Buddhist Tāntrik Sage, Virūpa, after visiting Sōmanātha in Saurāṣṭra, came to Magadha, and there worked in the cause of Dharma (Buddhism) for the good of all living beings. He was greatly venerated by the people. On one occasion when the king was engaged in a war with the Muḥammadan Tājiks,[1] the Tāntrik charms of this sage are said to have done him much service. One of the elephants of Rāma-pāla, named Bhanvadala, drank the water that was sanctified by the touch of the feet of the sage, in consequence of which it returned from the field of battle after killing one hundred[2] Muḥammadan warriors. From Magadha, Virūpa proceeded towards the East and came to the country of Gauḍa. There one of the Tājik kings gave him much trouble. The king, it is said, saw a Yōgī sitting near his pillow touching his head. Awaking from sleep he caused Virūpa to be brought to his presence.

He caused him to be thrown into the river to be drowned, but in spite of the repeated attempts to kill him in that manner, he came out safely from the depths of water. He was then ordered to be burnt alive. The fire did not touch him, to the astonishment of all. Then sharp and pointed weapons were tried to kill him. These also failed to do him any harm. During the time he was kept in confinement, he is said to have been forced to subsist on poison: though six loads of it were consumed, yet the sage did not suffer the least injury from its effect. Lastly, for six days

[1] The name by which the Persians and Afghans are known to the Tibetans.

[2] It appears that the king killed 100 Mlēcch Rājavaṁças or Rājputras, having gone to the field of battle mounted on the elephant.

and nights he was kept without food under strict watch: still he was found to be in good health. Finding that notwithstanding these tortures the sage grew brighter and more powerful than before, the king let him go. He was received by the people with the greatest veneration, as one who had attained *siddhi* (supernatural powers and perfections.)

Being reverently asked who he was, he gave his name as Virūpa. In Gauḍa he initiated the fortunate five in some of the secrets of his mystic cult. Many among them gained what is called the ordinary *siddhi*. In Bengal, during his stay of about four months, he remained accessible to the public; afterwards he disappeared, none knew to what place he went. Probably he proceeded to China from Bengal. This *Ācārya* (religious teacher) was called *Çrī* Dharma-pāla. He was not the same as *Sthavira* Dharma-pāla, the *Upādhyāya* of Nālanda.

His disciple was Kāla Virūpa, or Virūpa, the black, born of Brāhmaṇ parents in Oḍiyana, in the West. The Brāhmaṇ Astrologers predicted that he would be guilty of the commission of the most heinous crimes. At the age of seven he, being turned out of his home, that he might not commit the crimes, wandered from place to place for many years.

His mother, too, after the death of her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, became homeless and destitute. She wandered from place to place, till, arriving in Orissa, she became a wine-seller.[1] Her son Kāla also happened to arrive at the same place, and during the night came to her house. Not knowing that she was his mother, while under the influence of wine, he committed one of the four great sins that was predicted of him. Then being very thirsty he drank some beer, mistaking it for water, from an earthen mug. His thirst remaining still unquenched he grew furious with rage, and threw the vessel outside. It struck the head of a calf and killed the little creature. Hearing the dying cry of the calf he came out of the house, and with a view to conceal the act he rolled it down towards the lane, and thereby crushed an old Brāhmaṇ that happened to pass by.

In the morning he found that the wine-selling woman was his mother, and that in one night he had committed all the four great crimes[2] that were predicted of him, and which were the most heinous among the sixteen great sins mentioned in the Vēdas as destroying Brāhmaṇhood.

Reflecting on the gravity of his sins, he became very penitent and fled for his life and in order to perform penance, from Orissa. He made pilgrimages to almost all the sacred places of the Brāhmaṇs and the Buddhists. But being told that his purification was not complete, he proceeded to the country of Kōṇkana to meet the great Buddhist sage of Jalandharī, then residing there. The sage gave him a mystic *Mantra* to propitiate the Tāntrik deity Vajra-yōginī, and told him that thereby he

[1] In Tib. Chaûg-htshoñ-ma, a woman that sells wine, generally a prostitute.

[2] 1. Drinking wine in a prostitute's place. 2. Incest with his mother. 3. Killing a cow (calf). 4. Killing a Brāhmaṇ.

could purify himself of his sins, should he daily repeat it standing in the Kōŋkana river, only keeping his head above the surface of the water. He accordingly did this for a period of six months. without perceiving any signs of success. At length, in a fit of rage he cast away the rosary on which he used to count his daily recitations of the *Mantra*.

His Guru advised him to persevere in the work of penance, as it was sure that he would soon obtain his object. For seven days he performed the penance, with perfect concentration of the mind, and in the early morning of the eighth day, the goddess Vajra-yōginī, in the shape of a pretty little girl, appeared before him. She said 'Why have you come to die in this country of Kōŋkana after crossing 800 arms of the sea and 900 rivers?' He reverently replied: '*Ai māta Vajra-yōginī, Tērē Saranē!*' O, mother Vajra-yōginī, I have to come to take refuge in thee! Hearing this she touched the crown of his head with her hand and said, 'Go thou to the great sage Virūpa who has performed a profound *Samādhi*. He has been spiritually connected by the chain of *Karma* with you for several births. He is now in the Mahāraṭṭha country.' So saying she disappeared. At that time Virūpa, wearing a cap made of a human skull had returned thither after visiting almost all the sacred cemeteries of India and acquiring the *Mahāmudrā siddhi*. He had become a great Tāntrik, having acquired supernatural powers by the practice of the adept secret cult. Kāla became his pupil and under his guidance gained *siddhi* by propitiating the goddess Vajra-varāhī, who is also called Vajra-yōginī.

The chief disciple of Kāla Virūpa[1] was called Ḍōm Virūpa Hēruka. He was in fact a Rāja of Tripurā (Tippera), which is a country in the eastern direction of Bāŋgālā. When *Ācārya* Kāla Virūpa visited Tripurā, the Rāja became greatly impressed with his teaching. He wished to be initiated in the mystic cult of the Tāntriks. The sage was greatly pleased with his royal pupil and made him an adept in his mystic art. The Rāja for a long time meditated on the subject of his propitiation, having always in view his Guru, and thereby acquired the preliminary stage of *siddhi*. When he perceived that the time of testing his spiritual capabilities had arrived, he heard a prophecy that the female energy (*çakti*) of his spiritual union was in the person of Padmāvatī, a maiden of the Ḍōm caste. Accordingly he took her as his helpmate for gaining perfection in the Tāntrik cult. The ministers, chiefs, and all the subjects of the kingdom repudiated this conduct of the Rājā and ultimately were obliged to cast him out, both from society and royalty. The Rājā with his Ḍōm mistress left Tripurā and went to a jungle in the neighbouring country to practise the Tāntrik cult in solitude. He became a great adept in the mystic science by keeping in his vows. Afterwards he visited many other places. He became known as Ḍōm Rāja or Ḍōm Ācārya. The term Ḍōm signifies one of very low caste. A Ḍōm lives outside the city. He kills fish, birds, and wild animals, and subsists on them.

[1] According to some Tibetan writers this Virūpa was a *Charmakāra* by birth, but they have no authority to support the assertion.

He does not sell meat. He sings and dances (prob. professionally). He sells grass and fruits, &c. He carries on more than one low profession. This Ācārya was not himself a Ḍōm, but his wife being a Ḍōmnī, he was called Ḍōm (Tib. Dom-pa) which means one having a Ḍōm wife. This Ḍōm Ācārya acquired many supernatural powers and did immense service to the people of Bengal and to Tripurā. Less than six years after his initiation into the mysteries of the Tantras, he visited other countries and made pilgrimages.

During his absence from Tripurā a great many calamities befel the people. Famine appeared and epidemics raged in the country. The court astrologer said that the distress and the troubles of the country were due to the banishment of the good Rājā on account of his religious opinions. Accordingly he was invited to revisit his country. The people received him as a *Siddha* (Saint), and bowed down to his feet in veneration and received his benediction. He preached the Tāntrik doctrine of Buddhism called *Dharma* to them, and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became *siddhas* too.

He was then invited to the country of Rāḍha, called Rāra in the common language of the people. The Rājā of that country was a bigoted follower of the Brāhmaṇs, but seeing the supernatural powers of the Ḍōm Ācārya and his goodness and learning, he became changed in his views. Henceforth the *Dharma* Buddhism in its Tāntrik phase became greatly honoured and followed by the people of Bengal and Rāḍha and Tippera. By the worship of the *Dharma* is meant that of the Buddhist deities such as Vajra-yōginī or -varāhī, Vajra-bhairava (that is the Kṣētra-pāla),[1] Vajra-ḍākinī, the Nātha, in Tibetan called *Gon-po*, &c.

In fact in the latter days of Buddhism the Dik-pāla, Dharma-pāla and other fancied spirit-protectors of Buddhism became the object of worship, to the exclusion of the Buddhas and the Bōdhisattvas.

[1] Kṣētra, *i.e.*, Buddha-kṣētra.

Çrī-dharma-maṅgala: A distant echo of the Lalita-vistara,—*By* Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Çāstrī, M.A.

[Read February, 1895.]

In a paper read in December last,[1] I attempted to prove that the Dharma-pūjā prevalent in Western Bengal is Buddhism, though unconscious.

In the preceding paper I have tried to trace the history of Buddhism from the Muḥammadan conquest down to the present day, and also to show how widely Buddhism is still prevalent in Bengal, though in a form scarcely to be recognized, except by the initiated.

In the present paper I purpose to draw a comparison between the *Çrī-dharma-maṅgala*, the hand-book of the Dharma worshippers,—the work chanted under thousands of *Baṭa* trees on the sacred birthday[2] of the Buddha,—and the *Lalita-vistara*, or the hand-book of the Buddha's life, according to the Mahāyāna School.

In the *Lalita-vistara*, the Buddha is represented as preaching to gods and Bōdhisattvas in the Tuṣita-heaven. He was then *Caramabhavika*, *i.e.*, about to receive his last birth. There was a discussion where he should be born, it was decided he should be born in the family of Çākyas. He enters his mother's womb by the right side. The mother sees miraculous visions. She travails in a garden. A storm disperses her attendants. She holds the branch of a tree, and hangs downward with her face lifted up towards heaven; in that condition the Buddha is born. On the seventh day after his birth, his mother dies. He is named Sarvārtha-siddha by his father. Dēvarṣi, the divine Ṛṣi, Asita comes to see the boy and predicts that he will renounce the world. The Dēvaputra Mahēçvara also predicts the same thing. He is nursed by his stepmother, Mahāprajāvatī. He learns to read and write various alphabets from Viçvāmitra, the teacher of boys. He goes to see villages; he falls into a trance under a Jambu tree,

[1] [See the *Proceedings* of the Society, for Dec. 1894, p. 135, where the paper is printed at full length. Ed.]

[2] [The *Vaiçākhī Pūrṇimā*; See *Proceedings*, p. 137. Ed.]

where he is discovered by his father; then he is married; he is examined in his knowledge. He conquers the whole Çākya race by his prowess and marries Gōpā, the daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi. Then comes the well-known story about the four excursions, and his famous renunciation. During his prolonged meditation under the Bō tree at Bōdh-gayā, Māra comes to tempt him, first with an army of terrible demons and then with a host of beautiful damsels. But the Buddha rises superior to the temptations, and succeeds in turning the wheel of law (the *Dharma-cakra*). The *Lalita-vistara* ends here, but there are other works, such as the *Mahāvastv-avadāna*, which give a history of his ministry and of his Nirvāṇa at Kuçinagara.

The *Çri-dharma-maṇgala* begins with the usual salutations to Ganēça, Sarasvatī, &c. The real work opens with Dharma, as supreme Brahma, creating Vidhi, Viṣṇu and Çiva. In the beginning of the Kali-yuga, he thinks deeply in his highest heaven that people are not worshipping Dharma. Just at this time Hanumat presents himself before Dharma, and in consultation they determine to send to the earth one of the Apsarases, or dancing girls of Indra's court, in order that she may propagate the worship of Dharma.

This dancing girl is born as the sister of the wife of the king of Gauḍa, the son of the great King Dharma-pāla. Her brother Mahāmada is the minister of the king. The king gives the girl in marriage to Karṇa-sēna, one of his great feudatories, against the wishes of his brother-in-law, and the minister takes a vow of eternal vengeance against his sister and his brother-in-law.

Rañjāvatī the royal sister-in-law, on the advice of Ramāi Paṇḍit, worships Dharma at Cāmpāi, that she may get a mighty son. In order to please the deity, she lays herself down on a piece of plank with iron spikes driven through it, the instrument on which jute is teased by weavers. She immediately dies, and remains dead for three nights. Then there is a storm. Dharma-rāja presents himself before her, and she regains her life and gains the boon she wanted. Lāusēna, her son, is an incarnation of Kaçyapa's son, perhaps Indra. His athletic training is given in detail. The minister of the king of Gauḍa makes many attempts to take his life. Dharma saves him. He is at last summoned to Gauḍa. On his way to the capital, he kills the tiger Kāmadala, in the depopulated city of Jalandara. At Jāmati and at Gōlāghāṭa, women of all descriptions throw many temptations in his way, but in vain. On his arrival at Gauḍa, the minister contrives to send him on a distant and hazardous expedition against Kāmarūpa. He subdues the king, compels him to pay tribute, and takes his daughter in marriage. The minister sends him on other dangerous expeditions, and he succeeds in all of them.

The minister himself worships Dharma and brings in Lāusēna to help him. He throws him into prison, gets his father and mother into his power, and agrees to release them only on condition that Lāusēna should cause the sun to rise on the west. Lāusēna proceeds to Hākanda, the westernmost point imaginable, beyond Haridvāra, beyond Mathurā, beyond Kurukṣētra, near the mountain where the sun sets. There he sacrifices his own person, divided into nine parts, in the fire, and all his followers do the same. One animal survives,—a dog. Dharma brings them to life, and makes the sun rise in the west. Lāusēna gets his parents released, and goes back to his kingdom. Dharma presents himself in his capital, and takes him and his followers to heaven.

This is the story of *Çrī-dharma-maṇgala.* It has the following striking points of resemblance with the story of the life of the Buddha.

1. The Buddha in the Tuṣita-heaven thinks of taking his last birth on earth.

Dharma in the highest heaven, thinks of sending some one on earth to propagate his worship.

2. The Buddha selects the best royal family for his birth.

Dharma selects the most virtuous royal personage to become the father of Kaçyapa-nandana on earth.

3. The Buddha's mother, Māyā-dēvī, gives birth to her noble son, while hanging from the branch of a tree. This tree is said to be a Pīpal tree by some, an Açōka or a Çāla by others.

Rañjāvatī, in order to get a son by the favour of Dharma, lays herself down on a *Çāla*—a plank with iron spikes in it. Now *Çālē bhar dēoyā* would apply equally to hanging by the branch of a Çāla tree and to lying oneself down on a *Çāla*, the planks with spikes driven into it.

4. The Buddha's mother dies immediately after the birth of her son.

Lāusēna's mother dies in order to get a son.

5. A storm disperses the crowd of attendants of the Buddha's mother, when he is born.

A storm precedes the obtaining of the boon by which Rañjā gets Lāusēna as her son.

6. The stories of athletic exercises bear very close resemblances to each other.

7. The story of the temptation of the Buddha divides itself into two parts, *viz.*, temptation by fierce demons, and temptation by beautiful damsels, or in other words by Māra-sēnā and by Māra-kanyā.

The story of the temptation of Lāusēna, too, divides itself into two parts—one, temptation by the tiger Kāmadala, which is a modern form of the word Māra-sēnā,—and the other, temptation by the ladies of Jāmati and the public women of Gōlāghāṭa.

8. The Buddha kills an elephant and sends it off several miles. Lāusēna also kills an elephant.

9. While the Buddha was meditating under the Jambu tree, the progress of the seven Ṛṣis (the constellation of the Great Bear) through the skies was stopped by his divine power.

Lāusēna compels the sun to rise in the west.

10. The Buddha obtains Nirvāṇa and goes to the Sukhāvatī heaven designed for Buddhas only.

Lāusēna, and all his followers, go in their terrestrial forms to the highest heaven of Dharma.

There are these and other points of resemblances between the two stories, but the points of difference are many, various and striking. In the whole of *Çrī-dharma-maygala*, the word Buddha does not occur. The only word of the Buddhist Trinity that occurs is Dharma,—not always that abstract idea which Bauddhas designated by the word, but a great deity—the highest of all. On some occasions the deity Dharma is identified with the abstract quality of virtue or holiness, but such instances are rare. The stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābbārata are cited in various instances, but not a single story about Buddhas or Bōdhisattvas. The writer of the work himself was a worshipper of Rāma, and so in his work Hanumat plays an important part as the attendant of Dharma. In fact there are many passages in the work in which Rāma, Viṣṇu, and Dharma appear to be all blended together into one, while in others Dharma is made superior to Vidhi, Viṣṇu and Çiva.

The Buddhist word *Nirvāṇa* occurs only once, and that in the Buddhist sense of putting an end to transmigration.

From reasons already advanced in my previous papers, it would appear that Dharma worship is the same as the latest or the Taūtrik form of Buddha worship. It was confined to the very lowest classes of society—to Hāḍis, Ḍōms, Pōds, Bāruis, &c. At the beginning of the last century a Brāhman poet well-versed in Hindū lore, observed this strange form of worship and wrote a great poem on it. He took the story from the worshippers and moulded it in his own fashion. The story of the Buddha's life, so simple in Pāli, got mixed up with legends and superstitions of twenty-five centuries and was then moulded by a Brāhman in such a manner that even the Buddha's name is not to be found in it. The Brāhman's work is certainly an echo of the Buddha's life, but it is a distant echo.

The Dōgām Mint.—*By* Surgeon-Captain W. Vost, *I. M. Service.*

(With a Plate.)

[Read May, 1895.]

The map in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan* does not shew the position of Dōgām. Mr. C. J. Rodgers so late as 1894 has stated, "I do not know where this place was. It is sometimes styled Dāru-l-islām and sometimes Dāru-l-khilāfat, so it must have been a place of great importance."

When I came to Bahraich (Bahrāic), the number of dams of Akbar of this mint that I was able to collect in a few days attracted my attention. At Gōṇḍā, the nearest town to Bahraich on the Faiẓābād side, I searched for them but could get comparatively few, while at Nānpārā, some 22 miles nearer the Nēpāl Frontier, they again were plentiful. This led me to believe Dōgām must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of either Bahraich or Nānpārā, and to inquire if anyone knew, or had traditions, of such a place. In a few days I was told that in former times there existed a city called Dōgāō, 4½ miles or so to the North-West of Nānpārā (at which there is a station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway), but that it was now represented by an insignificant village by name Dōgō, surrounded, however, by the extensive remains of an old town. Every year after the rains, numbers of Dōgām coins are found about the site on which Dōgō (دوگوں) now stands, and find their way to the melter's pot. At the present time one would not have much difficulty in adding two to three dozen to his collection at either Nānpārā or Bahraich. As this can be done at no other place I know of, I believe there can be little doubt the site of Dōgām may now be taken as settled at the *ḍih* indicated.

In the accompanying plate (Plate VI) I give coins of Akbar and Shāh Jahān minted at Dōgām. We should therefore also expect to discover some of Jahāngīr, but none are known at the present time.

Dōgām on some specimens of Akbar's time to my thinking reads Dōgāw (دوگاو.) On those of Shāh Jahān, there is no doubt that Dōgām (دوگام) is the correct spelling. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole at p. liii. of

his *History* says, "Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Oliver (*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, LV*) have read the mint دوگام as دوگانو, Dōgānw: but, while it is most probably the same name, there can be no question that the last letter on the copper coins Nos. 263, 271, is م not نو. Several places called Deogaon are mentioned in Abū-l-faẓl's list of Todar Mal's rent roll."

The coins of this mint now shewn were all, with the exception of Fig. 14, stated to have been found at Dōgāō and were obtained at Bahraich and Nānpārā by me. I have one dated 984 Ḥ. with the epithet دارالخلافه and others beginning in 986 Ḥ. with a second epithet, so that between these years there was a change in the title for some reason. In the Lahore Museum Catalogue (1891) one is given with the epithet Dāru-l-khilāfat, dated in 986 Ḥ., and also another dated in 989 Ḥ. with the same epithet. I think the title, or date, on the latter may have been incorrectly read. If there be no doubt about the one dated 986 Ḥ., then the change of epithet would appear to have actually taken place in that year, for I think there can be no question that on coin Fig. 1 of the plate illustrating this paper Dāru-l-khilāfat cannot be read. Specimens with the second epithet are much more frequently seen. It has usually been read دارالاسلام. From the obverses of Figs. 1, 2 and 3 of the plate it can be seen that there are not four *alifs*, and, therefore, that reading must be incorrect. The right reading appears to be دارالسلام. At one time I believed دارالتلاوت, the *Abode of Meditation*, was the epithet, or possibly دارالتلاميذ. I preferred the former, for I took what seems the last letter on Fig. 2 to be و and not م. To the eye this letter is like, all but the curved part, the و in Dōgāw on the same coin. Moreover, Figs. 3 and 9 shew above the first letter of what I thought was تلاوت a mark, like an inverted V, which I believed might represent the two dots of that letter. A mark nearly the same is used in writing at the present day for that purpose. I have seen very few with the mark I describe. Some have a cluster of dots, like Fig. 1, while others are without marks of any kind.

Between the Ghāgrā and Raptī rivers there is a belt of comparatively high tableland. "On the edge of this same tableland and on the bank of the Sarjū, about 4 miles west of the present town of Nānpārā, there exist the remains of a very large and most substantially built town. The houses, (for the ruins appear to be merely those of private dwellings and not of temples or tombs), are built of burnt bricks and it must have been a place of considerable importance. It bears the name among the country folk of Dūgāon and is unmistakeably the same city as that mentioned by Abū-l-faẓl in the Ayīn-i-Akbarī as a commercial centre of mark, the trade with

the hill people being considerable. Here also there was a mint for copper pice. As we are told that Nāṣiru-d-din during his brilliant administration of this district made his power felt even in the hills and rendered Bahraich prosperous in the extreme, it is not improbable that it was under his auspices that this town was established. By the end of Shāh Jahān's reign it was deserted, the legend being that a saintly mendicant in a fit of ill-humour cursed it so effectually as to cause the inhabitants to leave it "en masse." The tomb of the spiteful old man, Shāh Sajan, is now the resort of pious pilgrims and a large fair is held on the site of the old town."

The above quoted extract is taken from the *Report of the Revision of Settlement of the Bahraich District, Province of Oude*, printed in 1873. It appears to have escaped attention. Mention is made of Dōgām in Colonel Jarrett's translation of *Aīn-i-Akbarī* at page 172, Vol. II. It is there stated, "in the vicinity of the town (Bahraich) there is a village called Dōkōṇ which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage." Under the heading "Nanpara Pargana" the Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, 1878, records that "Dugāon is spoken of in the *Arāish-i-Mahfil* under the name of Deokhan or Deokan." The Gazetteer says, too, "Dugaon" was deserted in *one* day on account of Shāh Sajan's curse. On the 22nd December 1894 I travelled *viâ* Rājapur and Kēçwapur to visit Dōgāṍ. Nānpārā was formerly known as Tappā Salōnābād from Salōnā Bēgam, wife of Prince Dārā, son of Shāh Jahān. The road here and there has bricks appearing above the surface, and in Kēçwapur itself there is a piece of cemented road which the villagers say was part of the chief thoroughfare that led into the city. The first vestiges of Dōgāṍ are distinctly visible just beyond Kēçwapur. Here there are a number of mounds, and a well 10 feet in diameter. This is now partly filled up by fallen bricks. About two miles further on, the ruins become more plentiful. Five years ago, when the Bengal and North-Western Railway was being made, many hundreds of cartloads of ancient bricks were taken away. At that time what was left of the standing houses was dismantled. The foundations now only are left. An extension of the railway at right angles to the present line is contemplated. In a few years it is probable nothing will remain to tell of the whereabouts of the town. For this reason it may be well to put on record that the village Takiā stands at the north-west, and Banjariā at the north-east corner of the city, while the hamlets known as Amrāyā, Munupurwā and Dōgṍ are actually on the ruins. The city appears to have been, at all events it is now, bounded on the north by the Mathkhanoā Jhīl, on the west by the Sarjū river, on the east by the Kajhōwā Jhīl, and on the south by the Pajōwā Jhīl.

The people of the villages named use the old city wells. There are still a great number of these all about, with the cement lining still perfect. Some only require cleaning out to be almost as good as ever. At the time of my visit the ground was covered with mustard crops, and the different fields were separated by ridges of broken bricks. Some of the bricks were perfect. They were mostly thin, measuring about 10 inches square. From one well a large tree has grown. It was close to this that an old inhabitant pointed out to me the square foundation of a building which, he remembered, when a young man had high walls and was surrounded by a ditch, perhaps a moat. It was here, he said, Rājā Har Siŋgh lived in Dōgām-gaṛh.

There are traditions of other Rājās who lived in the city. Their names are Durag Mall and Sohail Dah. The last is no doubt one of the many names of the famous Sōhil-dēō who lived about 1000 A.D., and defeated Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd, the nephew of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. I cannot make out who Durag Mall was. Har Siŋgh may possibly be the Raikwār Harhardēō who rendered Akbar such service against Idgār, the rebellious Governor of Kaçmīr, and who after a long absence returned to the district in 1590 A.D., to find he had been considered dead. He refused to oust his son Jitdēō from the *gaddī* and retiring to Tappā Bownrahā married the Brāhman owner's only daughter and child.

The ruins of Dōgāō cover ground over a mile in length and about half that in width. I have no doubt at one time the town must have been much bigger. The people hereabouts assert it was connected almost the whole way along Anārkallī, an old bed of the Ghāgrā, with Bahraich, and in the opposite direction, with only a slight interval, extended as far as Parsā and Khatghar, places all a long way off. The name of the city implies there were two villages under one designation. It is likely the other was not far distant from the ruins described.

The following account of what happened to Dōgāō is both new and interesting. Once upon a time to the city, which was a populous and wealthy but very wicked place, there came a faqīr who was so enraged by boys of the city constantly throwing mud at him and making his life a burden, that he cursed them and prophesied that the city would be punished for its deeds. After some time a paṇḍit learned in astronomy made it known from observations he had taken, that the city would be totally destroyed in 3 days' time. He that night got his property together and with his family secretly left for Nānpārā, first barring his house from outside. Before starting he had a shallow pit dug in the courtyard of his house, and into it put three pigeons one above the other, but each separated by a basket. One of the pigeons was in

full plumage, the second had some feathers cut short, and the third had also feathers clipped but shorter than those of the second pigeon. The following morning the people wondered why the house was not opened as usual, and receiving no reply to repeated calls, broke open the door to find no one within. Discovering the pit in which the pigeons were, curiosity prompted them to raise the baskets to see what was under them. The first pigeon immediately flew away, the second was found half dead and got out of the pit with difficulty, while the third was dead. After matters had been discussed, it was concluded that those who fly at once will escape like the first pigeon, those who delay till the following day would meet with great trouble like the second pigeon, and those that stay behind till the third day would share the fate of the third pigeon. So it happened. Those who believed in the prophecy and left at once were saved. The next day a terrible earthquake occurred, and many were injured. The third day the whole town sank to the ground and many people died.

By others this prophecy is attributed to a banker in whose house the pigeon incident is also said to have taken place. One day only in his life had he ever forgotten after his day's business was done, to hand over his money bags to his wife's Kahārin servant named Konsiliā. Having to go outside shortly after his return home, an idea possessed him that two women were at that moment persuading Konsiliā to steal the bags. He made for home to find she had not been given them that day, nor had he, as usual, had his ḥuqqah and a drink of water after finishing it given him on his return. The whole affair was so mysterious and unusual with him, he thought something dreadful must happen.

Those who survived made their way to the larger villages and towns round about, *viz.*, to Nānpārā, Bahrāich and Çiōpur in the Bahrāich district, to Gōṇḍā in that district and to Khairābād in the Sītāpur district.

These legends have been related to me by one named Çālagrām, a banker at Bahrāich. His ancestors lived in Dōgāō.

Nawāb Aṣafu-d-daulah of Audh was in the habit of visiting Takiā to shoot big game and had over Shāh Sajan's grave there a building erected to preserve the spot. The whole was carried away in August last, by the swollen Sarjū eating into the bank on which the grave stood. A faqīr pointed out the spot to me, and with his finger the bricks in the bed of the river below.

In the cold weather I discovered in one of the villages at Dōgāō an old manuscript in Hindī verse composed by some one named Muni Dās. The manuscript is evidently a copy of an older one named the *Janam Tantō*. An extract from it is appended to this paper. In it

"Dang Dugoun" is stated to be in the Rāj of Harī Siŋgh. It goes on to relate that while largess was being distributed and festivities held in honour of the birth of the Rājā's son, Khīl, a jōgī named Hardam had not been able to get food for two days and in consequence cursed the Rājā's kingdom. Khīl at 5 years of age became a jōgī and led a wandering life. Nothing about Bahrāich is recorded in it.

Bahrāich and Gōṇḍā are frequently coupled together by natives when speaking of either. It is probable that "Dang-Dugoun" is another example. In the district maps Dāng is shown in the neighbouring hills to the north. Dāng-Saliānā are now spoken of in the same way. In the 'Aīn Akbarī the only named mehal in the Bahrāich Sarkār at all like Dōgāō in sound is Wankdun. For this Colonel Jarrett in a foot-note gives Dangdoun and adds "almost every name has an alternative spelling." Dangdoun I think may be a contracted form of Dang Dugoun.

Weights in grains and measurements in English inches.

I. AKBAR.

PLATE. VI FIG. 1.

Obverse.

In a circle, with circle of dots outside:—

315 دارالسلام

0·9 فلوس

دوگا...

(ضرب)

Reverse.

Circle, with circle of dots not visible on this coin:—

شش و

هستاد (986Ḥ.)

نهصد و

سنه

فی

(No date in figures in this position visible).

The three-looped ornament distinctive of this mint is attached to the upper part of د of نهصد.

FIG. 2.

Obverse.

As on Fig. 1, but دوگانو.

320

0·9

Reverse.

هفت و (987Ḥ.)
هشتاد
نهصد و
سنه
فی
۹۸۷

Fig. 3.

Obverse.

As on Fig. 1.

322
0·9

Reverse.

As on Fig. 2, but not complete.

Fig. 4.

Obverse.

296 ... تنک ؟
0·85 وگاو[ن ؟]
ضرب

Reverse.

شش (996Ḥ.)
ن]ود و
نم]صد و

I cannot make all the letters on the obverse into words.

Fig. 5.

Obverse.

As on Fig. 1.

316
0·8

Reverse.

سه
هزار و (1003Ḥ)
سنه
فی Qb

Date in figures partly visible.

Weights in grains and measurements in English inches.

Fig. 6.
Obverse.

As on Fig. 2.

159
0·7

Reverse.

سنه
هزار و (1003H.)
سنه في

Fig. 7.
Obverse.

As on Fig. 1.

147·5
0·65

Reverse.

يا (ز)
(هزا)ردهٔ (1011H.)
سنه في

Fig. 8.

Obverse

As on Fig. 2.

Reverse.

317 (ه)ز ده (1013H.)
0·7 ا ر سيز
سنه
في

Fig. 9.
Obverse and Reverse.

As on Fig. 8.

80
0·55 *Unique.*

II. SHAH JAHAN.

Fig. 10.
Obverse.

Æ شاه جهان
159 فلوس
0·7

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Reverse.

١٠٥ ... (105* Ḥ.)

سنه ... (?)

دوگام *Unique.*

FIG. 11.

Obverse and Reverse.

As on Fig. 10.

Æ
160
0·7 *Unique.*

FIG. 12.

Obverse.

شاه جهانے

Æ
71
0·55 فلوس

Reverse.

سنه ... (?)

دوگام

Unique.

FIG. 13.

Obverse.

Æ
71
0·55 فلوس

Reverse.

دوگام

Unique.

FIG. 14. [W. CROOKE, C.S.]

Obverse.

20·5 ....

·38 جـ]ها (ن?)

Reverse.

فل] و[س

دوک [ا م

ضرب *Unique.*

I have not seen any coins of the Ilahi years of the Dōgām Mint, nor any with the name Ādōgām.

APPENDIX.

I once went towards the North.
I am going to describe about Dang Dōgāð together.
There was a Rājā, Hari Siŋgh.
A son was born to him.
I sketched out the way to mercy.
He was distributing money extravagantly,
He invited the Rājās of various countries.
Singing and dancing was going on daily.
There was a Yōgī named Hardam.
He starved for want of food.
After two days he cursed.
Hari Siŋgh was frightened to hear it,
And said, "What offence have I done to you?'
"You did not inform me in the Darbār;
"I would have provided you with the food
"That you liked.
"I stand guilty before you.
"Who can remove the curse?
"Have mercy upon my kingdom."
Hari Siŋgh stood with folded hands.
"Listen to my entreaties, O! Jōgī,
"Revoke the curse and pardon me."
The Jōgī replied, "Hear me.
"Saints are in trouble in the world.
"Disease and trouble prevail in the Iron-age (Kaliyuga).
"O! Rājā, now adopt good ways.
"Hear Hari Siŋgh, there is a son to you;
"He has come to your royal doors.
"He is a perfect Jōgī by birth.
"He will relieve you from the curse.
"He will prefer Jōg to Rāj.
"Who can tell his qualities?"
On hearing these words Hari Siŋgh
With his wife fell on his feet.
In the barren days of the Golden-age (Satjug)
Hari Siŋgh gave up his ghost,
Relinquishing the hopes of Rājā,
And coronating his son as the Rājā.
I give a description of the child.
He, leaving his kingdom, deserted to the jungle.
He was of full 5 years of age.

He well churned his body.
Praise to his conscience and his deep devotion!
He was altogether free from passions and desires.
His subjects begged him,
That they are in trouble for want of a ruler.
They brought him home against his will,
And said "Have your senses left you?"
He replied, "I am not a fool, but the world is so.
"O! mother, you are fond of Rāj."
When any one else admonished him again,
That you, being a child, are too obstinate,
He replied, "I am not your child;
"I can discover the accounts of all the nine parts of the world in a moment."
His mother asked him the details:
"You are only 5 years' old.
"In what places did you practise Jōg?
"Tell me an account of it,
"O! child, nobody did so in my family.
"I tell you truly."
Kīl said, "Hear, my reverend mother,
"I shall tell you the whole story."
The mother said:
"Have you got no parents?"
Kīl said, "Hear my respected mother!
"I shall give you a further description.
"Mardan Siŋgh was a Rājā.
"I fully describe his asceticism.
"I, seeing that, remained there long.
"His country was void of desires.
"I passed the rainy season in the jungle there,
"Where I devoted myself to the service of all the deities.
"There I remained alone.
"I always delighted in divine contemplation

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

I relate a Jōg of mine (in a previous life).
I was at Pānipat Karnāl (Kandāl in manuscript).
There was a Jōgī, named Bhartihāri.
His Jōg was unfathomable.
He was a devotee, four times greater than others.
In Sankaldīp there was a Guru (priest).

His name was Agni Sāh, perfect in every way.
He was practising Jōg, and was happy.
Mōchandra went to pay his respects to him.
He listened to his words with attention.
Mōchandra imbibed Jōg fully from him.
The reverend Guru made God perceptible to him.
The world was going on as usual.
Lots have been received and lots prospered.
One, Gōrakh, lived in Kāncha Dēç.
Hear O! Hermits, he was admired by all.
Mōchandra's Jōg now I describe.
The whole world knows it.
He was practising Jōg in his own house.
I describe further the ancient accounts.
Bhartrihāri had a true love to God.
He did not care a bit for Rāj.
There was another Bhartrihāri.
He had no home and was in distress.
His parents were poor.
Now I describe his history.
One day he was sold by his parents,
And afterwards was thrown in a sea.
He remembered God, the waves became powerful.
The Almighty saved him.
Since then people called him obstinate.
He grew tired of begging about here and there.
He was suffering great pains.

* * * * * *

Kīl said to his mother:
"Once I was at Ambapur
"There was a Jōgī named Khīnd.
"Some two or three days past there.
"Khīnd told me his history.
"He gave me a description of
"The places he had visited.
"My ears became tired of his long accounts.
"His history is indescribable.
Khīnd said, "Hear, O theosophist, possessor of divine wisdom,
"I relate to you what I know."
He became silent for a moment.
"Hear Khīnd, I will describe my account.
"I went towards North.

"Dang Dōgāōn was a city there.
"The Rājā reigned for a long time.
"The Rājā's name was Hari Siŋgh.
"The whole world knew him.
"He was blessed with a Jōgī son.
"His name was Kīl.
"There was a meditative Jōgī in that town.
"His name was Hardam.
"Dancing and singing was going on there.
"None provided food for the Jōgī.
"He pronounced an irremediable curse.
"Hear O! Khīnd, he was a peculiar Jōgī.
"Hearing the curse the Rājā died.
"A son was born to him.
"The prince's name was Kīl.
"He used to go to the jungle night and day.
"His mother told him.
"Hear O! child, you are behaving childishly.
"The child was 5 years old."
Khīndra told the Jōg of that time.

* * * * * *

Muni Dās.

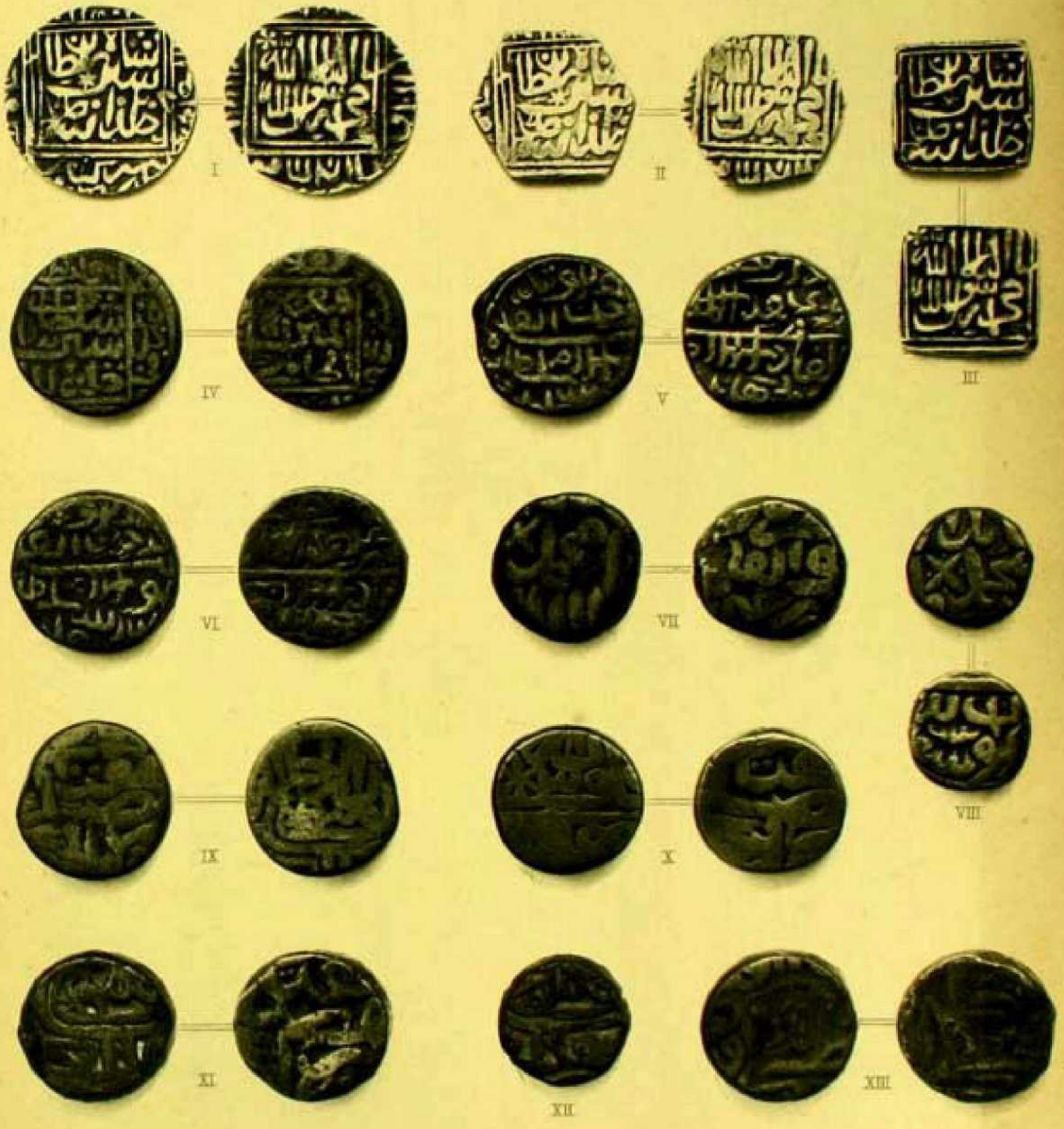
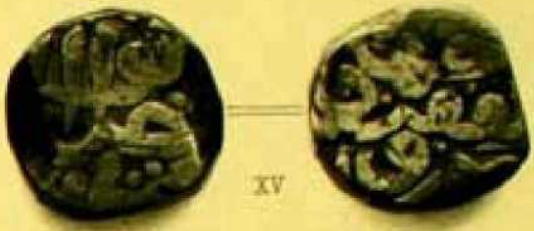


Photo-etching. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1895.

RARE MUHAMMADAN COINS.

XIV


XV

XVI

XVII

XVIII

XIX

XXI

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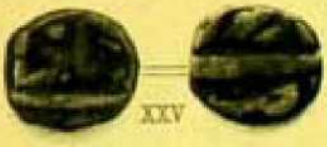
XXIII

XXIV

XXVI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XXVII

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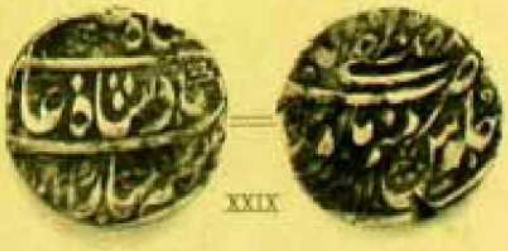

XXIX

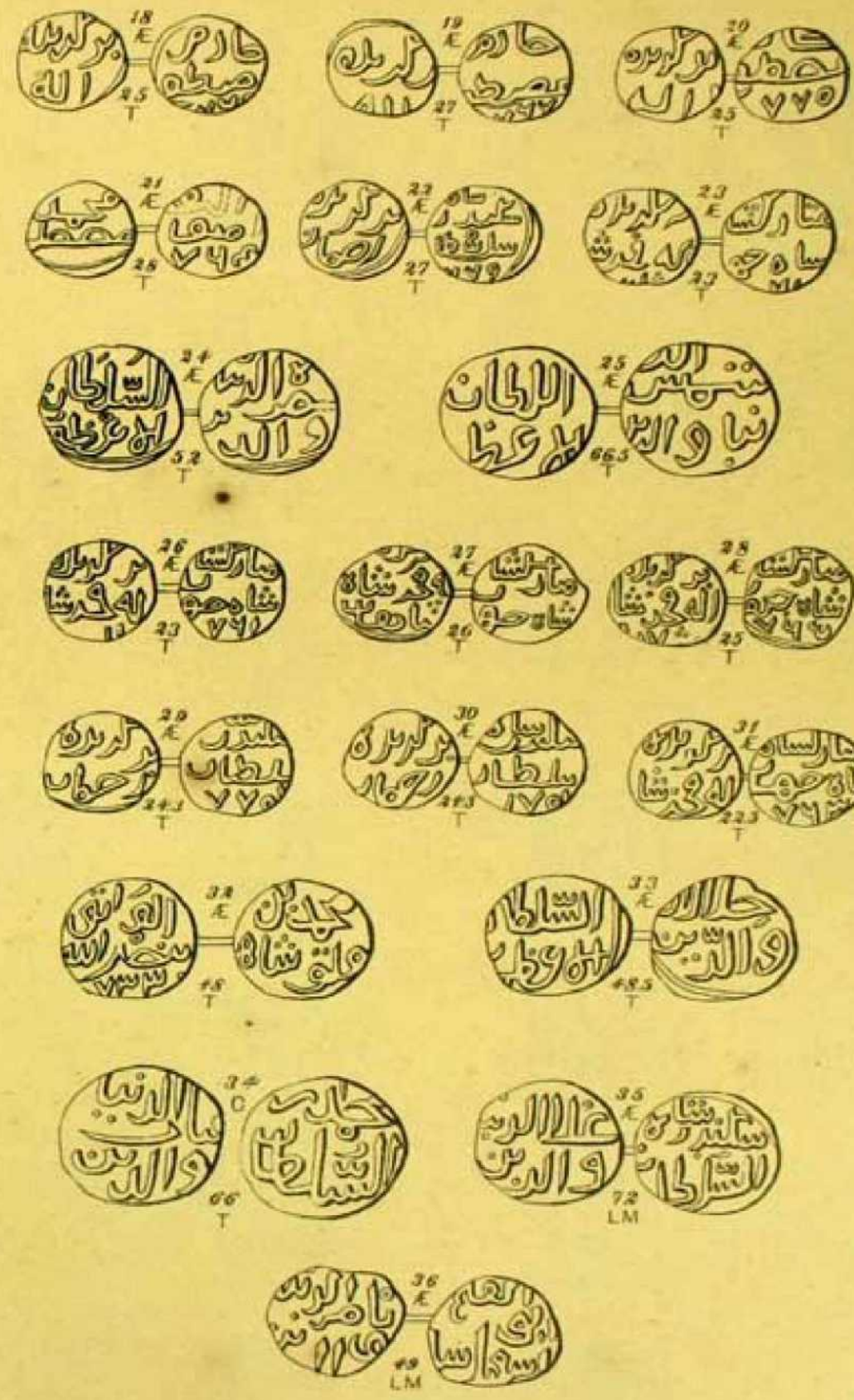
XXX

Photo-etching. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1895.

RARE MUHAMMADAN COINS.

C. J. Rodgers sel. Lith. by S. C. Mondul.

COINS OF KINGS OF MAᶜBAR



C. J. Rodgers del. Lith. by S. C. Mondul.

COINS OF KINGS OF MAʿBAR

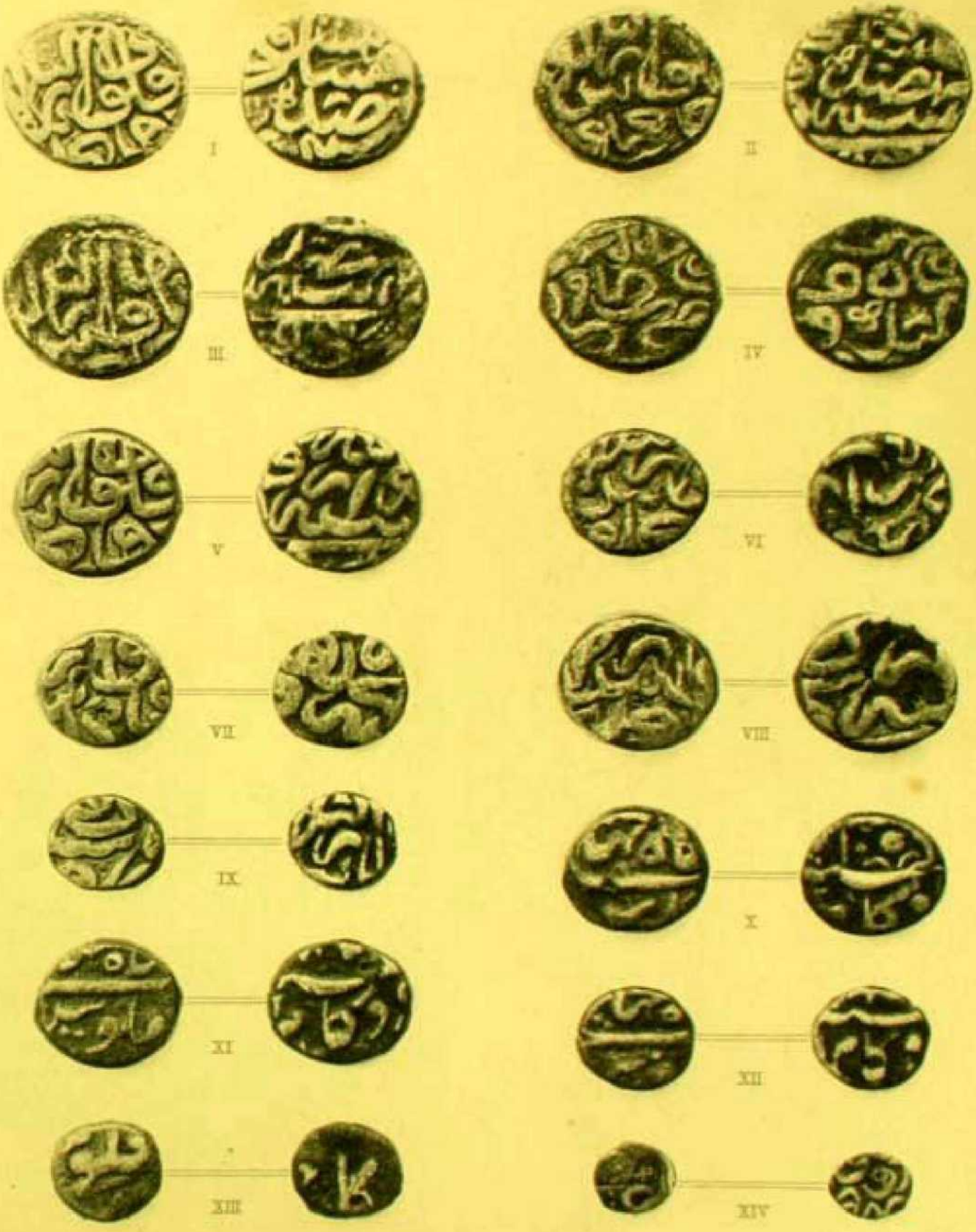


Photo-etching. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1895.

COINS MINTED AT DŌGAM.

Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DĒVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *r̥*, ॠ *r̥̄*, ऌ *l̥*, ए *e*, ऐ *ai*,
ओ *o*, औ *au*, ं *ṁ*, ँ ~ : *ḥ*

क *k*,	ख *kh*,	ग *g*,	घ *gh*,	ङ *ṅ*
च *c*,	छ *ch*,	ज *j*,	झ *jh*,	ञ *ñ*
ट *ṭ*,	ठ *ṭh*,	ड *ḍ*,	ढ *ḍh*,	ण *ṇ*
त *t*,	थ *th*,	द *d*,	ध *dh*,	न *n*
प *p*,	फ *ph*,	ब *b*,	भ *bh*,	म *m*
य *y*,	र *r*,	ल *l*,	व *v*,	(ळ *l̤*)
श *ś*,	ष *ṣ*,	स *s*,	ह *h*.	

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ड़ may be represented by *r̤*, and ढ़ by *r̤h*.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सो ऽपि *sō 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *ḥ*, *Jihvāmūlīya* by *ḫ*, and *Upadhmānīya* by *ḫ̣*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *ṁ*, thus संसर्ग *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ãā*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ´ and the *svarita* by ^. Thus, अग्निः *agníḥ*, जनिता *janitā́*, क्वा *kvā́*, कन्या *kanyā̂*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ˋ. Thus, ते अवर्धन्त *tḕ àvardhanta*.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(*The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries*) :—

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
ا a	ب b	ﺑﻬ bh
آ ā	پ p	ﭘﻬ ph
اِ i	ت t	ﺗﻬ th
اِی ī		ٹ ṭ
اے ē		ٹھ ṭh
اُ u	ث s̱	
اُو ū	ج j	ﺟﻬ jh
او ō	چ c	ﭼﻬ ch

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
اَیْ ai	ح ḥ	
اَوْ au	خ kh	
	د d	ڈ dh
		ڈ̣ ḍ
		ڈھ ḍh
	ذ z	
	ر r	ڑ ṛ
		ڑھ ṛh
	ز z	
	ژ zh	
	س s	
	ش sh	
	ص ṣ	
	ض ẓ	
	ط ṭ	
	ظ ẓ	
	ع ʿ	
	غ gh	
	ف f	
	ق q	
	ک k	کھ kh
	گ g	گھ gh
	ل l	
	م m	
	ن n	
	ں when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva Nāgarī, by ˜ on the preceding vowel	
	و w (or rarely v)	
	ہ h	
	ی y	
Hamzah	ء (where necessary) ʾ	

The ل of the article ال in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولہ Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n̲*—e. g., *ittifāqan̲*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā̤*.

Final ہ need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.

"Dang Dōgāõn was a city there.
"The Rājā reigned for a long time.
"The Rājā's name was Hari Siŋgh.
"The whole world knew him.
"He was blessed with a Jōgī son.
"His name was Kīl.
"There was a meditative Jōgī in that town.
"His name was Hardam.
"Dancing and singing was going on there.
"None provided food for the Jōgī.
"He pronounced an irremediable curse.
"Hear O! Khīnd, he was a peculiar Jōgī.
"Hearing the curse the Rājā died.
"A son was born to him.
"The prince's name was Kīl.
"He used to go to the jungle night and day.
"His mother told him.
"Hear O! child, you are behaving childishly.
"The child was 5 years old."
Khīndra told the Jōg of that time.

* * * * * *

Muni Dās.

Tibbat three hundred and sixty-five years ago.—*By* MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, *Bombay Native Infantry.* (*Retired.*)

[Read April 1895.]

At the present time the exploration fever in Asia appears to be chiefly directed towards Tibbat,[1] miscalled "Thibet," "Tibet," and the like, therefore it may be interesting to give an account of that region—of its western and northern portions chiefly—as it was seen by its first explorer nearly four centuries since.

I refer to the Mughal Prince, the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Gūrgān, of the Dōghl-āt tribe of the Mughals, son of the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Gūrgān, who held the Government of Shāsh, or Tāsh-kand, on the part of the sovereign of Kāshghar, to whom he was related, Muḥammad Ḥaidar's father being descended from Amīr, Bulācī, the first Amīr of Kāshghar who embraced the Muḥammadan faith. Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar and Khutan, and their dependencies, at the period I am writing about, and in whose service Muḥammad Ḥaidar was, and to whom he was also related, married his sister, and gave him his own sister in marriage, hence Muḥammad Ḥaidar, like his father, and many others, not Amīr Tīmūr alone, as has been commonly supposed, is styled *Gūrgān*, that is to say, one who has married into the family of the reigning sovereign. Muḥammad Ḥaidar's mother, likewise, was the younger sister of Ẓahīru-d-dīn, Muḥammad Bābar's mother, they being the daughters of Yūnas Khān, who held the Government of Andījān, the capital of which was Shāsh or Tāsh-kand, and who was a direct descendant of Caghatāe Khān, one of the sons of the Cingiz or Great Khān of the Mughals.

Before giving Mīrzā Ḥaidar's account of Tibbat[1] it may be well to refer briefly to what the old Muḥammadan writers say about it, but,

[1] The word is spelt by all eastern writers, تِبَّت —Tibbat—and in no other way. The actual meaning of the word is "fine wool," which is obtained from the roots of the hair of goats, and which is woven into fine and soft fabrics—*shāls*—which is the signification of this latter word.

unfortunately, they are much more brief in their accounts than we could have desired.

'Ubaidu-l-lāh, son of 'Abdu-l-lāh, son of Khurdād-Bih, who died in 300 H. (912 A.D.), in his *Kitābu-l-akhbar*, as quoted by the Gardaizī in his *Zainu-l-akhbar*, mentions the well-known tradition of the Ḥamīrī rulers of Yaman in Arabia having invaded Māwarāu-n-nahr, and also of the invasion of Tibbat by one of the same race. 'Ubaidu-l-lāh states, that there was a prominent man among the Banī Ḥamīr whose name was Ṣābit, who was much trusted and depended upon by the Maliks of Yaman, whom they style Tubbā'yawa'. On Tubba' conferring the lieutenantcy, or vice-royalty of the country upon Ṣābit, the latter's mother sent him a missive, saying: "One of the Tubbā'yawa' set out towards the east, and used great efforts until he reached a country the verdure of which was gold, and its earth musk, and its grass (herbage) incense [fragrance, also the plant cinque foil, called the "Khīk-i-Maryam" or "Panjah-i-Maryam—the Virgin Mary's Palm,"], its game the musk deer, its mountains snow, and its plains most pleasant." When Ṣābit read this missive he became very desirous of proceeding thither; and having fitted out a large army, he set out towards that country. When he reached Tibbat he found that all he had been told was correct. * * * * He remained in that part, and got the title of Khāqān. * * * * But the route into Tibbat from Khutan,[1] until you come out on it, lies over lofty mountains, which contain inhabitants, and in those mountains are numerous animals, consisting of sheep, cattle, and wild sheep.[2] From thence you reach Sālsān [ساسان in another *MS.*], beyond which a bridge has been placed from one side of a mountain to another.[3] They say in

[1] Khutan, not "Khoten," for the letters with which it is written will not admit of such a mode of writing or pronunciation—according to the Tibbatī traditions, was anciently called *Wu-than*, at which period it was one of the strongholds of Buddhism. "Counting the *wihārs* in and outside the city of Wu-than, there were sixty large *wihārs*, ninety-five of medium size, and four-hundred and forty-eight temples." See "*Journal*" for 1886, page 195.

[2] The *qucqār*, also called the snow sheep.

[3] When Mīrzā Abā Bikr, defeated by Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān in 920 H. (1514 A.D.), had to fly from Yār-kand, he retired to Khutan, but finding it was impossible to remain there, he retired towards the Qarā-naqū Tāgh. On arriving there, hearing that the Mughals were in pursuit, he again fled after destroying as much of his immense baggage as he could, and pouring his treasures into the river Akāsh, which flows through Qarā-naqū Tāgh, from the top of the bridge; as the road was very narrow, and his flight was impeded by the immense amount of baggage and treasure, he took only such things along with him as could conveniently pass by that narrow route. He then set out; and when his pursuers reached his last halting place, they found that he had crossed the Qarā-naqū Tāgh, and had entered Tibbat.

this wise, that the Khutan people erected it in ancient times. Beyond this bridge of Tibbat Khāqān, there is a mountain range, that, when people begin to ascend it, it will take their breath away [*dam-i-mardamān ba-gīrad.* The name of this malady it will be observed, is *dam-gīrī* from Persian *dam*, 'breath', and *gīrī*, 'taking', 'seizing', etc., from the verb '*giriftan*' to seize, etc.], so that they cannot breathe, and their tongues become heavy, and many persons die thereof. The people of Tibbat call this range the Kōh-i-Zahr, or Poison Range. When people proceed to Kāshghar from thence [Tibbat], they go by a direct route between two ranges of mountains to the east [sic. in *MS.*], and pass over it, and reach a tract of country which they call Ūz-kand. This tract is forty *farsakhs* in extent, and half of it is mountain, and the other half is very rough and furrowed.

The chronicler, Abū Ja'far, Muḥammadu-ṭ-ṭabarī, who wrote about the same time as the writer just quoted, relates, that Shamir, surnamed Ẕū-l-janāḥ, a nephew of Tubba'u-l-aṣghar, the Ḥamīrī king of Yaman, invaded China. It came about in this wise, that the ruler of Hind sent his ambassador to Shamir with presents, consisting of silken fabrics, frankincense, musk, and other rarities. Shamir inquired if all these precious things were the produce of Hind, and was told that most of them came from Cīn, a country the 'Arabs had not before heard of. Shamir was so stimulated from the account given to him of Cīn, that he resolved to undertake an expedition into that country. Some other writers, like 'Ubaidu-l-lāb, just quoted, say, that Shamir was commanded to undertake this expedition by one of the kings of Yaman, whom the others say was Tubba'u-l-aṣghar, but he lived many years subsequent to Shamir. The Ḥamīrī prince is said to have led an army under one hundred standards, and under each standard were one thousand men, across the Jīḥūn from the territory of Balkh, and from thence to the frontiers of Hind,[1] where he himself remained while he despatched part of his forces against Cīn. This force having been defeated by the Cīnīs, Shamir resolved to proceed in person with the rest of his army, and he set out through the country of Turkistān, skirting the territory of Tibbat, in which he left a force of 12,000 men as a reserve. Shamir succeeded in Cīn, and returned from thence

The name of this mountain still exists, but, in Walker's map of Turkistān it appears as the name of a halting place, under the name of "*Karangotak*," about one hundred and three miles south of Khutan, and the bridge over the Akāsh river was immediately north of it. The narrow route, and the bridge appears to be the same as noticed above.

[1] The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says he went by way of Kābul to the frontiers of Hind.

through Turkistān towards Hind [the borders are doubtless meant, and by a different route from that by which he went], with a vast amount of booty; and from thence conducted his forces back to Yaman, having been absent on this expedition for a period of seven years. "Those 12,000 men were never withdrawn from the skirts of the territory of Tibbat; and vestiges of them are still to be found in Turkistān in that direction." The Tājzīks of Tūrān are their probable descendants.

Shamir is also said to have destroyed, at the outset of this expedition, the ancient capital of the Sughd, and to have founded another town in its place, which was named Shamīr-kand, *kand* in Turkī meaning a town, which 'Arabs change to *qand*, and which in course of time grew into a city, and its name to Samr-qand. According to the chroniclers quoted, Shamir lived in the time of Kai-Gushtāsib and Bahman, rulers of Īrān-Zamīn. It was the former who removed Bukht-un-Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzer) from the government of Bābal, for his cruelty towards the Banī Isrā'īl.

The 'Ajā'ibu-l-baladān says much the same as ut-Ṭabarī respecting the Tubbā'yawa' invasion.

The "Kitāb-i-Masālik wa Mamālik" says: "If one desires to proceed from the east [Cīn] towards the west, by the country of the Nāemāns, the territory of Khirkhīz, the Taghar-i-Ghuzz, and Kīmāk, towards the sea, it is a journey of nearly four months. * * * * The country of Tibbat lies between the land of Khirkhīz and the kingdom of Cīn. Cīn lies between the sea, the land of the Ghuzz, and Tibbat, etc."

Ibn Ḥauqal who finished his work in 366 H. (976 A.D.), states, that *he saw* a gate at Samr-qand, the front of which was overlaid with iron, and on it was an inscription in the Ḥamīrī language, saying, that "from San'a to Shamar, or Samr-qand, is a distance of one thousand *farsakhs*."

The Tasmiyatu-l-baladān says that in those early times Samr-qand was called Cīn!

In his history, entitled the "Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī," the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, first refers to Tibbat in the following words:[1]

"On the west side of Kāshghar likewise, a great range extends, which branches off from the mountain ranges of Mughalistān, and runs from the north towards the south. The writer of this work has traversed the mazes of this great range for a distance of six months' journey, and even then had not reached the extremity thereof, as will presently be explained." * * * *

[1] I may mention that I translated this account of Tibbat from Mīrzā Ḥaidar's work some seventeen years ago; and other extracts have appeared in the *Translation of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, and my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc.

He subsequently gives the following account of his expedition into Tibbat, which I will render in his own words.

ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY WAR IN TIBBAT.

"Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān having come to the determination of undertaking a holy war against the infidels of Tibbat, it is necessary to give some account of that country. It lies in such a position that few travellers can manage to reach it, on account of the exceeding difficulty of the routes. It is a maze of mountains and valleys, rough, and furrowed with formidable passes and tremendous defiles; and is, in every respect, a most difficult and inhospitable region. What from the excessive keenness of the air, the paucity of forage, the scarcity of fuel, and the lawless and obdurate people who infest the routes and plunder those who happen to fall in their way, there are few travellers who have effected a passage through it.[1] It is on this account, probably, that Tibbat is not mentioned in such trustworthy books as the "Mu'ajjamu-l-baladān," the "Jām-i-Gītī," the "Mulḥaqāt-i-Ṣūraḥ," and others, the authors of which have not described Tibbat as other countries have been described therein, and have contented themselves with a brief summary respecting it, but from which, what Tibbat really is, is not to be gathered in the least. For this reason, I have the boldness here to endeavour to show and set forth what the territories included in Tibbat really consist of, and to furnish other information respecting it which is not obtainable from books.

"The region called Tibbat is a vast tract of country in length between north and west (N. W.), and south and east (S. E.), eight months' journey, but the breadth of which does not exceed a month's journey, and not less than ten days' journey.[2] The north-west boundary adjoins Bilaur, the position of which has been previously given; and on the south-east Tibbat extends to Khōjū and Sālār, which are among the dependencies of Kanjān Qū-ī of Khiṭā, as has been already detailed in the account which I have given of the mountain ranges of Mughalistān and Kāshghar;[3] for the principal mountain range of

[1] But in these days, the "new woman" finds her way all about this, as well as other out-of-the-way countries, not liking 'home.'

[2] The Tibbatī writers consider all Tibbat to constitute what is known to the ancient writers as "*Jambu Dwīpa*;" and that to the east and north-east of Tibbat Proper, that is, "U" and "Thsang," lies in the country of Great Tibbat. "Central Tibbat" they called "*Dvus*," the first and last letters of which in italics, according to the Tibbatī mode of writing, are not pronounced.

[3] In the same way as with regard to Tibbat, people will, down to almost the most recent traveller, persist in calling this place and its territory "*Kashgar*," which, of course, is incorrect. We can from this imagine how other names must be vitiated by them.

Mughalistān,[1] the whole of which branches out in different directions, passes north of Kāshghar, bends down to the west of that territory, and then bending southwards again, passes south of Kāshghar. The territory of Farghānah also lies to the westward of Kāshghar, and this very range here referred to lies between them. Thus the portion lying between Kāshghar and Farghānah is called Ālāe. Badakhshān lies to the west of Yār-kand, and there likewise the range in question lies between; and this last portion of it, lying between Yār-kand and Badakhshān is called the Pā-mīr,[2] which, in some places, is seven or eight days' journey in breadth. After it passes beyond this [southwards], there are some of the mountain skirts [hill tracts] of Yār-kand, which adjoin Bilaur, such as Rās-kām and Tāgh-i-Dūm Bāsh. When it has passed beyond this again, then comes the region of Tibbat. Badakhshān lies on the summer west [*i.e.*, the direction in which the sun sets in the height of summer] of Yār-kand, as previously mentioned, and Kash-mīr lies on the winter west of Yār-kand; and the very same range of mountains runs between them. That portion of it which lies between Yār-kand and Kash-mīr, is that part of the region of Tibbat which is known as Bāltī.[3] In the same manner as this range is very broad from the Ālāe Pā-Mīr, in Bāltī it is still more so, being twenty days' journey in breadth. For example, the pass ascending into it on the side of Yār-kand is the *'Uqbah*, or Pass, of Sānjū, and that for descending from it towards Kash-mīr is the *'Uqbah*, or Pass, of Skārdū or Iskārdū, and between these two Passes the distance is twenty days' journey. In the same way, on the winter west of Khutan some of the districts and provinces of Hind lie, such as Lāhōr, Sultān-pūr, and Māci-Wāṛah; and that same range of mountains previously mentioned lies between. That portion which lies between Khutan, and the before-mentioned places [*i.e.*, between Khutan and Hind] belongs to the country of Tibbat, such as Ardūk, Kōkah, and Asbatī.

"In the same manner, it is necessary to understand, that west and south of the great range which I have previously mentioned as termi-

1 Which the Chinese style Thian-Shān.

2 In one of his recent letters—the last I think—to *The Times* on "The Pamir Question," M. Vambéry says: "I must begin by alluding to the rather curious fact that *the name Pamir, as a geographical denomination, is utterly unknown in Turkestan. It does not occur in any of the historical records extant.*" Here is a proof of it, as may be found in many "records extant;" but no such term applied to it as "*Bām-i-Dunya* (roof of the world)" can be shown in any oriental record whatever: the term is a purely European invention.

See my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., page 295–307, for what Bilaur consists of, and where it lies.

3 In another place he says Bāltī is a territory lying between Bilaur and Tibbat.

nating on the south-east as far as Khojū and Sālār, dependencies of Qāmjū and Sukjū-ī of Khiṭā,[1] is Hindūstān; and that from Bahrah and Lāhor to Bangālah, the whole lie on the southern skirts of this great mountain range. All the rivers of Hind flow out of it; and the whole of the region of Tibbat follows, and is conformable with, the courses of all those rivers [on those sides]. To the north and east of Tibbat are Yār-kand, Khutan, Jar-jān ["Chárchand" of A—K's explorations and map], Lōb, Kanak, and the Sārīgh Ī-ghūr, and the rest is sandy desert, the boundary of which adjoins Qām-cū and Sukjū-ī of Khiṭā.

The rivers issuing from the mountains of Tibbat flowing towards the west and south, are all rivers of Hind, such as the Nīl-Āb, the Āb-i-Bahrah [the Bihat or Jihlam], the Cin-āb, the Āb-i-Lāhōr [the Rāwī], the Āb-i-Sulṭān-pūr [the Bīah, which in the author's day flowed close to Sulṭān-pūr], and the Āb-i-Bij-Wāṛah [the Sutlaj ?], the combined volumes of which rivers signify, in other words, the Daryā-i-Sind [Indus]. On the other hand, the Jūn [or Yamūnā, *vul.* "Jamna,"], the Gang, and other rivers, all enter Bangālah, and unite with the ocean; and all that flow out of the mountains of Tibbat towards the east and north, such as the river of Yār-kand [Zar-Afshān],[2] the Āq-Qāsh, the Qarā-

[1] The Fanakatī says: "What the people themselves call Khān-ẓjū Khān-qūe, which the Mughals call Jāqūt, or Jah-qūt, and Hindūs call Cīn, and we people of Māwarā-un-Nahr call Khiṭā or Khiṭāe." See *Ṭubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 912.

[2] In the article on the "Pevtsof Expedition," in the *Geographical Journal*, for July, 1893, we learn with respect to the "*Yarkand-daria*," that the Russian spies were unable to carry their observations farther south than "*Ish-debeh*":—"Unfortunately no contemporaneous observations were made, and therefore no positive conclusions could be formed. The Yarkand-daria is the chief river of Eastern Turkestan; its course is upwards of 1,300 miles long, and the determination of its sources is an interesting geographical problem," page 62.

As to this "problem," Mīrzā Ḥaidar says, in another part of his work, that "The water of the river of Yār-kand is the best of the waters of the world (in purity), and all the praises which physicians and sages have bestowed upon it are true and just. At the distance of one month's journey it issues from the mountains of Tibbat, and originates from the melting of snow and ice [from a glacier ?], and flows from south towards the north over rocks and *sand*, and with great swiftness. When it reaches Sārīq Kōl, which is the name of a well known territory of Kāshghar, its rapidity increases, and it dashes, and is dashed, against rocks and stones, and flows towards the east for a distance of seven days' journey, until it reaches more level, open ground, and then flows for a distance of two days' journey more in a stony, rocky bed, with great rapidity, until it reaches Yār-kand," etc., etc.

According to the Survey Report, written nearly a century since, repeatedly quoted by me in my *Notes on Afghānistān*, "the interesting geographical problem" was then solved. It states, that after leaving the pass over the Qarā-Quram range towards Yār-kand, instead of keeping towards the north towards the

Qāsh, the Āb-i-Kirīah ["Kiria" of A—K's explorations], and Āb-i-Jar-jān,[1] all empty themselves into the Lōb Nāwar [or Lōb Lake, which geographers will persist in calling Lob-*nor*[2]], which Lōb Nāwar is a great lake in the vast sandy desert tract which has been previously referred to. From some Mughals who knew this lake, I heard that it takes three months to go round about it, and that from the lower part of it issues a great river which is known by the name of the Qarā Nūrān [Mūrān?] of Khiṭāe.

"From this description it will appear that Tibbat occupies a very elevated position, because the waters issuing from it, all fall down in every direction; and from whatever side a person desires to enter Tibbat, it is necessary to do so by ascending lofty passes which have no subsequent descent; and when you reach the summits the ground is comparatively level.[3] In some of the passes there may be a little

Sānjū Pass, you keep more to the left, and in four stages reach Kahaplū-Aghzah (referring probably to the place of many spurs, or many mouths or exits, and ascents).

Leaving Kahaplū-Aghzā (the "Kapaloong" of some maps), another five stages take you to Cirāgh Shāh, (the "Chiraghsaldee" of some maps), another now desolate halting place; so called after some Sayyid, and by the way, meet with much water, and many grassy tracts. There are springs of water here in all directions; and the water from them having united, and having been joined by other small tributaries, flows towards the north, towards Yār-kand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshān.—"The Disperser or Scatterer of Gold." It is after this that its velocity becomes so great.

The next stage onwards from Cirāgh Shāh leads over the Kūdū Dabān, or Dawān, or Pass (the "Yangee *Dewan*" of some maps, and Yangī Pass of others). Dabān or Dawān—'b' and 'w' being interchangeable is the Turkish for a pass. This pass is of great elevation, and here the territory of Tibbat-i-Kalān or Great Tibbat terminates.

[1] As Mīrzā Ḥaidar makes a difference between the letters 'j' and 'c' when necessary, I have left his words as they are written. This place is A—K's "Chār-chand," but I prefer the Mīrzā's mode of writing.

[2] *Nāwar* is the Turkī for a lake, not *Nōr*. Vast physical changes must have taken place since the Mīrzā wrote; for we are told, that, according to the statements of M. Bonvalot, "it may be said that Lōb-Nōr has no existence in name or in fact; that there only exists beds of reeds and sand dunes, and that the largest sheet of water is called the Kara Buran."

The "Kara Buran" here mentioned, is Mīrzā Ḥaidar's great river, the Qarā Nūrān [Mūrān?].

[3] Although Mīrzā Ḥaidar does not expressly mention by name "the newly-discovered Altyn-tagh mountains [the Āltān Tāgh, or Āltān range]" of Prejevalsky, and the discovery that "the northern barrier of the Tibetan plateau," advanced "to the meridian of Lōb Nōr 3° farther to the north than had hitherto been supposed," but from what he says here, the Mīrzā was perfectly cognizant that Tibbat extended thus far north, and that its northern barrier consisted of mountains—a cross

inclination downwards, but not much. On this account Tibbat is excessively cold, in such wise, that in most places, with the exception of barley and turnips, nothing else is cultivated. The barley, too, is such as is for the most part grown and ripened in the short space of forty days, if at first, the cold of a long winter does not prevent the seed coming up soon. In most places in Tibbat grass continues green for two months; and in some places therein, although the summer season is nominally forty days, it is after such a fashion, that, after midnight, the rivers and streams freeze; and throughout Tibbat the keenness of of the air is so great, that no tree, indeed not even grass, attains any height: all is stunted in growth.

"The inhabitants of Tibbat are separated into two divisions. One is called *Bōl-Pā*, that is to say, dwellers in villages or hamlets, and the other *canbah*, that is *ṣaḥrā-nishīn* or nomads; and they pay obedience to one or other of the governments or provinces of Tibbat. These nomad people have some astonishing customs, such as are not followed by other races of people. The first is, that they devour flesh and all other food in a raw state, and have no custom of cooking whatever.[1] Secondly, in place of corn, they give their horses flesh; and thirdly, all their burdens, baggage, utensils, and the like, they put on the backs of sheep, each of which carries a load of about twelve legal *manns*.[2] The sheep have saddle bags, crupper, and breastplate, fitted and fastened on to them, and they load them with as much as they can possibly carry. They never take off these loads except out of necessity [from the beginning to the end of a journey]; and winter and summer the load is kept fastened upon their backs.

range — stretching from the Pā-mīr portion of the great range he has described, for several degrees farther eastwards, and passing Lōb Nāwar on the south. Indeed, the middle route from Yār-kand by Khutan to Khitāe in those days skirted the northern slopes of that very range; and the Cingiz Khān returning from the neighbourhood of Peshāwar by Bāmīān and Buqlān into Māwarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān, moved against Tingqūt by this same route. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, note to page 981.

The Fanakati, in his history, says, with reference to the excessive elevation of Tibbat and its mountains, that the following line of the poet, Firdausī, is applicable to them, for from them

"Of the fish [which supports the world] thou seest the belly, and of the moon the back."

1 Grueber also says: "The people of Barantola are very slovenly, for that neither men, nor women, wear shirts, or lie in beds, but sleep on the ground: That they eat their meat raw, and never wash their hands or faces," etc.

2 The *mann* is a small one, and varies, it is said, in Tibbat, from 2lbs. to 6lbs. Hamilton says, in his account of Bengal and its trade with Tibbat, that the load for a sheep is from 12 to 20 lbs.

"The mode of life of the Canbahs or nomads is after this manner. In winter they descend from the mountain parts before named towards the west and south, which is Hindūstān, and bring down with them Khiṭāe goods, and musk, and *tanah-kār* or *tanah-gār* [borax],*māh-farfīn* [purslain], *qūṭās* [*yāk* tails], gold, and *shāl* [fabrics], which are Tibbatī goods and merchandize,[1] and carry on traffic with the Hindūs of the mountain skirts of Hindūstān. From thence these Canbahs purchase and take home with them goods and manufactures of Hindūstān, such as clothing [piece goods for clothing], sweets, rice, wheat, etc., with which they load their sheep, and in the spring set out on their return to Tibbat, there being forage obtainable then, and their sheep numerous. They proceed leisurely, allowing the sheep to graze by the way, without interruption, and without stoppage, and reach Tibbat in the summer. Then, collecting such produce of Tibbat as may be saleable in Khiṭāe, they load their sheep and convey these articles, along with the products of Hindūstān they had brought with them [over and above what they required for home use], and set out towards Khiṭāe, and spend the following winter therein. Having then disposed of their Hindī and Tibbatī goods, they again collect the products of Khiṭāe, and set out for Tibbat in the following spring, and again reach it in the summer. They then collect such products of Tibbat as they require, and with them and the Khiṭāe ladings, they descend as before into the lower hill tracts of Hindūstān; and there they receive the hire for the conveyance of goods into Khiṭāe; and the hire for what they carry from Hindūstān they receive in Khiṭāe. Thus they pass one winter in Hindūstān and the next one in Khiṭāe alternately. This is the custom followed by the whole of the Canbah. There are some of them who may have conveyed 10,000 sheep loads; and from the rate of twelve *manns* to each sheep, one can compute what is the extent of traffic, and what amount of goods they convey once a year from Hindūstān to Khiṭāe, and *vice versâ*. At all times these loads and burdens accompany them wherever they go, except in case of any affliction or misfortune befalling them; and thus the loads they place on their sheep in Khiṭāe they only remove when they reach Hindūstān, and in the same manner when they return from thence to Tibbat and Khiṭāe again. I have never heard of such customs among any other people, and in many places it would scarcely be believed.

"These Canbah or nomads are a numerous people: for example, one tribe among them, whom they style Dol-bah, will amount to above

[1] Père Regis says: "The chief commodities in which the inhabitants trade with neighbouring countries, are Musk, Rhubarb, Worm-seed, and Furs. The most excellent Rhubarb comes from hence.

50,000 families,[1] and like this tribe there are several others. The writer has made inquiry among the most trustworthy persons among them, respecting the number of these Canbahs or nomads, and their answer was, that they were unable to say, for that God alone knew the number of them.

"The dwellers in villages, or sedentary people, who are styled Bol-pā, are distributed among certain territories, such for example as Bāltī, which is one of the territories of Tibbat, and that comprehends several other [smaller] territories or districts such as Pūrīk and Ḥābū-lah, and Shigā, and Skārdū or Iskārdū, and Ladāqs.[2] Each of these contain forts, stations, and villages (with their lands). Those parts of the region of Tibbat which I have myself seen, the greater number of which were either taken by force of arms, or were acquired possession of after some endeavours by voluntary surrender, are some parts of Bāltī, Zan-skār, Mār-yol,[3] Yūdaq, Kōkah, Lō, Pōrās, Rōngah, Mankāb, Zīrsū or Zersū, Kāngār, Nīsān or Naisān, Yam, Alā Lāe Lōng, Tōk-ō-Lābōk, Asbarak or Asabarak, the whole of which I have traversed. From Asbarak people proceed to Bangālah in twenty-four stages; and Ūrsāng lies east of Asbarak, and Bangālah lies south of it. Ūrsāng is the place to which throughout Khiṭāe and Tibbat, they turn to, to pray, and is the most sacred temple of those people. What the writer has heard concerning it, being impossible of verification by him, is consequently not recorded, and possibly most of it is untrue. In short, it is the seat of learning, and city of the monks of Khiṭāe and Tibbat.

In explanation of the wonders of, and different places in, Tibbat.

"Of this region of Tibbat which I have myself seen, the manners and customs of its people are after such a fashion, that, notwithstanding I much desire to give a full description of them, I find it impossible to do so. However, I will record some of the astonishing things which I have beheld, or which, time after time, have been verified in my presence, on account of their strangeness. Among these, one is the gold mines. In most places frequented by the Canbahs there are gold mines; indeed in most of the Tibbat territory there is gold. Among these are two wonderful mines. One is in what is called Àltūn-cī Tibbat by the

[1] The people called the white and black tent nomads in the Index to the revised sheets of A—K's explorations are, doubtless, the Canbahs here noticed.

[2] The Tibbatis, in their writings, spell this word much the same as Mīrzā Ḥaidar—"Ladāg" and "Ladvāgs" (the last letter in italics not being sounded; and they call the fort thereof "Skes-mkhar."

[3] Mis-called, as usual, in the best maps even, "Marol," and in some others "Malial."

Mughals,[1] in which some of the branches of Dōl-bah Canbahs, or nomads, already noticed, work; but on account of the excessive coldness of the air they are not able to work more than forty days in each year. The shafts (adits) open on level ground, in such wise that a person can enter them; and the shafts are numerous, and most of them lead one into the other. It is affirmed that as many as three hundred families at a time continue at all times to dwell in these shafts or holes. The passage of some Mughals happened to lie that way, and being perceived by the Dōl-bah from a distance, when they drew near, these people crept into the shafts so that the Mughals could not find one of them. In these shafts, likewise, they do not burn any oil, only clarified fat of sheep, in which no tallow is contained. They bring the earth in sieves to the mouths of the shafts and wash it, and it is said that from one sieve-full of earth, as much as ten *miṣqāls* (each *miṣqāl* being about one dram and a half) are on an average produced. The same person digs out the earth, brings it out, and washes it himself; and in the course of a day can fill and wash twenty sieves-full. Although this matter has not been verified and tested by me, nevertheless, the statement agrees in every way with the reports current in Tibbat, and therefore it has been recorded here.

"Another territory is Kōkah, which contains some two hundred forts. Its length is three days' journey; and there is gold to be found in every part of it. They dig out a certain quantity of earth and spread it out on the face of a cured hide, and pick out the gold therefrom which is in grains. Some of these grains are of the size of lentils, or peas; and it is said, that, sometimes, nuggets of the size of an egg and even of the size of a sheep's liver, or even larger are found.[2] At

[1] Āltūn or Āltān is the Turkī for gold, but not "Altyng;" and Āltūn-cī Tibbat refers to the northern parts thereof, near the "recently discovered, Altyn mountains."

[2] All the rivers issuing from these mountains bring down gold — the Indus, the Kunar, the Yár-kand river, as its name indicates, namely, Zar-Afshān — the Scatterer or Diffuser of gold — and several others.

Among the rarities despatched by the Cingiz or Great Khān to Sulṭān Muḥammad, the Khwārazm Shāh, was a larger nugget than this one by far. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states (page 966) that, "Among the rarities and presents sent to the Sulṭān was a nugget of pure gold, as big as a camel's neck, which they had brought to him [the Cingiz Khān] from the mountain range of Ṭamghāj, so that it was necessary to convey that piece of gold upon a cart."

The ruler of Ṭamghāj in the time of the Cingiz Khān was styled The Āltān Khān, *āltān* or *āltūn* in Turkish signifying gold. Ṭamghāj is described as the name of a territory of Turkistān, *i.e.*, the country inhabited by Turks, and the name generally applied to the Bādshāhs or sovereigns of Tibbat and Yughmā; and Ṭamghāj and Yughmā are said to have been "the names of cities giving names to countries also."

the time that I, the writer of these pages, fixed a capitation tax upon the Kōkah Chiefs, they related, that, only a short time before, a labourer was excavating in a certain part, when the implement he was using became so firmly fixed in a place, that, with all his efforts, he was unable to withdraw it again. He removed the earth from around, and what does he behold but a large stone, and in the middle of it embedded was gold, and the spade firmly fixed therein. Leaving it just as it was, he went away and informed the Ḥākim or Governor of the matter, when that functionary, and those then present with him, went in a body to the spot, and took hold of the mass, broke the stone, and one thousand five hundred *miṣqāls* of pure Tibbatī gold were extracted from it, each *miṣqāl* of that part being a *miṣqāl* and a half of the usual weight!

"The gold of Kōkah which they extract from the earth is, indeed, so pure, that, however much it may be assayed and tested, the only loss that arises is the right of the fire [*i.e.*, what is lost by heating and melting]; and this fact is considered astonishing and wonderful by travellers and assayers, and probably nowhere else in the world can such a thing be pointed out.

"In most parts of Tibbat the goods and merchandize of Khiṭā and Hind are to be obtained in much the same proportion and quantity.

"Another of the wonders of Tibbat is what is called *dam-gīrī* [stoppage of the breath or suffocation from stagnation of the air, as it is described], and this malady prevails throughout the whole of Tibbat;[1]

[1] The author of the Survey Record I have before referred to, in his account of the route from Pashat, where gold washing has been carried on for centuries (the "Pishut" of the maps) to Goslak (see my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., page 145), over the Calas Ghāshaey, or Pass, says: "The summit of this mountain range, which is named Kunḍ by the Afghāns and Tīraj Mīr by the Tājzīks of Qāshqār [Kāshghar and Qāshqār are totally distinct countries], and which always appears white from excessive snow, lies on the left hand. By the way are dense forests, among the trees of which are many descriptions of fruit-bearing trees, and much grass and herbage of various species; and as from the smell of the grass (or herbage) a person becomes stupified, people take an *onion* along with them in their hands, and immediately on their brain becoming affected they smell the onion and also eat it, and their brain recovers from the effect."

From this it appears that the "*onion* mountains" are more than one range.

In another place the Surveyor says, that the Mīr Shāh Riẓā, Bādshāh or Chief of Drūsh, a dependency of Qāshqār, or Citrāl, who was an enthusiastic geographer, told him likewise, that the range extends in an unbroken, conterminous chain from the tract of country inhabited by the Qirghiz nomads (immediately south and west of Kāshghar), as far as Hirāt, and that Hindū Kush is merely the name of one of the passes leading over it. This range is also called Sarōwar [the same word as occurs in "Lake Mansarowar," of the maps], and the Afghāns style it Kunḍ, both of which words are of the same meaning, Sarōwar and Kunḍ being the Sanskrit for 'lake,' 'pond,' 'pool,' etc.

but where there are forts and villages there it prevails to a less degree. In all cases the symptoms are the same: the respiration is always affected or stopped, and a person's head burns in the same manner as if he had taken a heavy load upon it and had ran up a very high ascent with it; and on account of this burning sensation he cannot speak without much effort. Then sleep overpowers him, but as yet the eyes are scarcely closed in sleep—what from the difficulty of respiration and the burning sensation in the head, and pain in the lungs and chest—than he awakes again in great anguish and agitation; and this is the state into which people always fall when attacked with this malady. When it increases, delirium ensues, and the person begins to talk incoherently, and sometimes has not the power to utter a word. The face, hands, and feet swell; and when this change has come, the person dies between the morning and the early forenoon. It sometimes happens that a person attacked lingers in this state for some days; and if, during this time, death does not supervene, and the invalid reaches a fort or village, or other inhabited place, there is a chance of his life being saved, but if not, death is certain to happen.

"Strange to say, this malady does not attack the people of Tibbat,

In another place (*Notes*, page 309), on crossing the Qarā-Quram range from Kahaplū Aghzā, he says, that "on the way thither, you meet with a vast deal of snow, and much water, grass, and herbage. As the smell emanating from these grasses produces faintness and stupefaction, travellers take care to provide themselves with onions when they travel by this route. When a person becomes affected from the smell, and feels faintness coming over him, his companions give him an onion to eat, and also one to smell at, and this is said to be an effectual antidote."

It is doubtful, however, whether it would have the same effect if the person *continued* in that part; for, of course, only the first symptoms of *dam-giri*, are here referred to.

The Buddhist pilgrims, Hwui Seng and Sung Yun, which latter is said to have been a native of Tibbat, who visited these parts in 518 A.D., in the translation of their travels by Beal from the Chinese (page 183), say: "After entering the *Th'sung Ling* (or Onion Mountains), step by step we crept up for four days, and then reached the highest point of the range. * * * * To the west of the Th'sung Ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward. * * * * To the eastward of the capital of this country [Han-pan-to, Pan-to, or Khartchou], there is a rapid river (or a river, Mang-tsin, or a wide ford river) flowing to the north-east towards Sha-leh (Sand-curb, see note [2] page 88)." Here, of course, the Zar-Afshān, described by Mīrzā Ḥaidar, is referred to, which is styled by the name of Mangshīn [Mang-tsīn] up to the present time.

What I particularly wish to draw attention to here is the coincidence of the range being called the "Onion Mountains" in 518 A.D., from which it is evident that onions have been used for at least some fourteen centuries as an antidote against an attack of *dam-giri* (see also page 84), and that the probability is, that the range got the name of Th'sung Ling, or Onion Mountains, from this use of onions.

who are unacquainted with it: strangers alone are liable to its attacks; and their physicians cannot account for this disease attacking strangers and non-dwellers in Tibbat,[1] neither do they or any one else know any remedy for it. The colder the air the more people are affected by it; and it not only attacks human beings, but every living creature [foreign to Tibbat?], and more particularly human beings and horses, as will be presently shown. When on one occasion it became necessary to make a rapid inroad of one day's journey, and we set out, on the following morning when I awoke, the horses with the force which accompanied me seemed very few. On making investigation I found that in that one night 2,000 horses had died; and of my own stud alone there were twenty-four spare horses which had been taken on, and out of them no less than twenty-three had died! This malady seems to affect horses even more than human beings; and save in Tibbat, I never heard anything like it happening any where else.

"The '*ulamā*, or ecclesiastics of Tibbat, are all, without exception, called by the general name of Lāmah,[2] but they are styled by different titles according to the degree and description of their learning. For example: in my time they styled an *Imām* and a *Mujtahid*, "Tōngbah" and "Kajūwā," respectively.[3] I used to converse a good deal with them by means of an interpreter; but, when the discourse became somewhat difficult and abstruse, the interpreter used to be unable to understand it perfectly, and incapable of interpreting it, consequently, the conversation on such occasions would remain incomplete and unfinished. But what I understood of the fundamental articles of their belief is this [the author here gives an account of the Buddhist doctrine which I need not insert here, but merely add what he afterwards mentions regarding the Buddha himself]. "The doctrine of Shakā Mūnī is the religious belief of all Khiṭāe and Tibbat. In the former country they style him Shaqiyā Mūnī, and in the latter, Shaqā Tōbā [or

[1] The Tibbatīs we may say, are born to it, and therefore are not affected like strangers by such a rarified atmosphere.

[2] Or Lānbah, both being correct.

[3] An Imām is prelate or chief priest, a leader in religious matters, and Mujtahid, an expounder of the law, traditions, etc., and of the Qur'ān. It must not be supposed that the Mīrzā means that these Tibbatī words are translations of Imām and Mujtahid: he merely means that the Buddhist priests of high rank or degree are so styled. *Tōngbah* is probably what the Tibbatīs style "*Tsonkhapa.*"

According to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (see page 1106) however, "in the time of the Great Qā'ān, Ūktāe, son of the Cingiz Khān, *masjids* were founded in all the cities of Tingit, Tamghāj, and Tibbat, and the countries of Cīn; and all the forts and strongholds of the countries of the east were given in charge to a number of Musalmān Amīrs."

Tōyā ?], but, in history, the name is written Shakā Mūnī. In some Histories he is accounted among the prophets of Hind, and some aver that he was a philosopher. * * * Shakā Mūnī declared that of the 124,000 apostles or prophets who were to follow him, the last would be named Jānksabah, who would be an orphan, without father or mother, and all the world would become converts to his faith; that he himself would impart the precepts of his religion, so that it might be transmitted from one generation to another by these prophets down to the period of Jānksabah's blessed appearance. He also declared that the countenance of this prophet would be in such and such wise; and he had given an image which every one should take care to preserve, because a being would be born of that likeness, and that, before all other people, they should believe on him. At this time, in all their idol-temples, the image or likeness which occupies the chief place, is the image of this expected Jānksabah, and all the likenesses which they make are with reference to him.[1]

"Another of the territories or districts of Tibbat is Zōnkah, which is the most noted and esteemed in all Tibbat. In that part the *māh-farfīn* is produced.

"I saw there a mandate from a Bādshāh of Khiṭāe, written in the Khiṭā-ī character, in one corner of which the purport thereof was written in the Tibbatī alphabet, and in another corner, a translation in the Persian language,[2] neatly written in the *naskh* character. It set forth that, 'His Majesty sends his greeting unto all people, and says, that Shakā Mūnī, who founded the religion of idol-worship (*but parastī*), lived upwards of 3,000 years ago, and that he had delivered sayings of great wisdom and subtlety which was beyond the capacity of every one to comprehend, and that they might set their minds at rest on that matter.' There are other remarks on the subject of repairing the idol-temples; but the chief object intended to be conveyed is the era of Shakā Mūnī. A year different from that of the *Hijrat*, with which I was not acquainted, is written therein; but, from appearances, I should imagine that the document is not much more than a century old, but God knows best. I had gone into Zōnkah in Rabī'u-l-awwal (third month) of 940 H. (September, 1533 A.D.).[3]

[1] This is a somewhat remarkable statement, and shows that what is assumed to be, and which writers call, "the image of the sitting Buddha," in the temples of Buddhist people, is no other than the likeness of the coming Buddha, Jānksabah, and which Shāqiyā Mūnī enjoined his followers to keep in their temples. The same, I think, may be said of the paintings supposed to be of Shāqiyā Mūnī.

[2] This shows the extensive use of the Persian language in Asia.

[3] This would be the reign of Yng Tsong, the sixth emperor of the Ming

"In Kāshghar, as well as in Tibbat, the *Qūṭās-i-Ṣaḥrāe* [or wild *yāk*] is found, which is a formidable animal and a dangerous.[1] When it gets at a person, whether it butts with its horns, and gores him, or whether it kicks out at him, or gets the person under it, it is the cause of that person's destruction; or whether, not having time enough for this, it merely gives him a toss which sends him twenty *gaz* (ells) up into the air, he is hardly likely to live after falling from such a height. One Qūṭās bull is sufficient load for twelve horses; and one person can in no wise lift its shoulder blade. I killed a Qūṭās at the time of making a certain raid, and divided the flesh among seventy persons, and each one had sufficient flesh to last him for a period of four days. These animals are not found anywhere else save in the region of Tibbat."

The Author is despatched on an Expedition against the Infidels of Tibbat.

After expatiating on the advantages of holy warfare against infidels to the orthodox Musalmān, the author says: "I set out from Kāshghar on this expedition in Ẓī Ḥijjah (the last month) of the year 938 H. (the latter half of August, 1531 A.D.). As I have previously mentioned, the northern boundary of Tibbat, that is in other words, Bāltī, terminates at Bilaur and Badakhshān. On its winter eastern side is the

dynasty. Du Halde tells us that in the third year of his reign (1441 A.D.) he issued an edict prohibiting all persons from doing honours to *Confucius* in the temples of the idols.

In his sixth year (1444 A.D.) he marched an army against the Tartars [Mughals rather] on the other side of the great wall. He was, however, entirely defeated, and taken prisoner, and carried away into Mughalistān. He is the Tiûg-thûâ of the Lāmah quoted below.

According to the statement of the Lāmah, "Sum-pa Khan-po," whose life is given by Bābū Çarat Candra Dās, in J. A. S. B. for 1889, page 63, the third Ming emperor was called Tai Ming (Yemglo), who ascended the throne in 1402 A.D., but he does not give the year of his death, or that of other emperors: he merely gives the date of their successors' ascending the throne. The fourth Ming emperor, Huñshi, according to the Lāmah, ascended the throne in 1424 A.D.

This Tai Ming is the same potentate who sent an embassy to Sulṭān Shāh Rukh Mīrzā in 816 H. (1413-14 A.D.), with a letter, who is called Dāe Ming by the historians of Shāh Rukh's reign. The latter sent a return embassy with a long and interesting letter in reply to that of the Ming emperor.

[1] The Amīr, Nāṣiru-d-dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, father of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīh, was nick-named by his comrades the *Qarā Bujkum* or *Black Ghajg-gāo*, which words are respectively Turkish and old Persian for the wild *Yāk* of Tibbat and adjacent parts. Black here refers, not to colour, but ferocity, and such as Mīrzā Ḥaidar describes above.

territory of Yār-kand, and to the west of it is Kash-mīr. I was accompanied by Sikandar Sulṭān [Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān's son], while the Khān himself proposed to proceed by the route of Khutan into the Altūn-cī Tibbat, which is a *dōl-pah*, or, in other words a *dasht* (steppe).[1]

"I set out towards the close of the month before mentioned, and on the 1st of Ṣafar (the second month of the following year, 939 H.), we reached Nūbrah, which is a territory dependent on Tibbat. A messenger was despatched into the whole of these parts to invite the people to embrace the Musalmān faith.[2] Most of them accepted the invitation with submission, with the exception of these black-faced ones of Nūbrah, who manifested a contumacious and rebellious spirit, and all betook themselves to their forts and strongholds. Bōrq-pā, who was the greatest of the chiefs among them, and whose fort was Hōndār, which is the principal stronghold of that part, shut himself up therein. I invested him there; and was occupied for some days in preparing the necessary materials for laying siege to it, such as *manjanīqs* (balistas), *tōrās* (mantelets), etcetera, and on the day fixed upon, moved towards it. Confusion and disorder, however, arose among the enemy, and they evacuated the fort and took to flight, pursued by the Musalmāns as far as it was possible to follow them, and not one of the tribe entertained a hope of escape. Bōrq-pā, with all the males having been killed, a *manār* of the heads of these contumacious rebels was raised, and a monument to the infidels of these parts towered upwards to the sky. Their territory was taken possession of, and troops occupied their forts; and from thence we entered the territory of Mār-yōl. Here there are two Ḥākims or rulers, one was Lat Jū Ghadān, and the other Mā Shīgūn; and both of them came and presented themselves, and submitted. At this time the sun changed from *Virgo* and entered the sign *Libra;* and in *Libra* throughout all Tibbat, the severity of the cold is so great as not to be equalled in any other part in this season of the year. Cōnsultation was now held with the Amīrs along with me, as to what part of Tibbat was the best for us to make our *qishlāq*, or winter quarters,[3] and where forage for the cattle and food for the men would

[1] From the context this refers to the table land of Tibbat, rather than to a *dasht* or steppe.

[2] In other words, they were called upon to "*come in*,"—something after the manner recently, and now being practised on the frontier of Afghānistān towards the purely Afghān tribes—and allow themselves to be "annexed" against their will, but their religion is not interfered with.

[3] Any one who has been in the Afghān state, especially its northern part, ought to know the proper meaning of *qishlāq* or *qishlāgh* ('q' and 'gh' being permutable in the Turkī language), and most people who have been in those parts do know that it simply means *a place* or *tract* in which the nomad people take up their

be procurable. No one could give indication of any such place in Tibbat; and the general opinion was, that it was advisable to enter Kash-mīr, and take up our winter quarters there.[1] If we could subjugate it, well, otherwise, having passed the winter there, we could leave it when the spring came round. Having reinforced the troops left to hold the different places in Tibbat [this part of it], we left Mār-yōl and those tracts, and set out towards Kash-mīr. News now reached me that the Khān himself [Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān, ruler of Kāshghar] had arrived in these parts (Tibbat), and that on the road he had been attacked with *dam-gīrī*, the malady peculiar to this infidel land; and that the Khān wished to see me as quickly as possible. I therefore left the forces along with me at the very place where the news reached me, and set out at once for the Khān's presence.

"I previously mentioned that the Khān had intended to advance into Tibbat towards the *dol-pah* or *dasht* by way of Khutan, having despatched me with a part of his forces towards Bāltī. At the period in question the sun was in *Aries*. The Khān, however, passed a month in some of the summer stations, and also in the pasture lands of the mountains of Kāshghar, until, in the meanwhile, the season of *Sunbal* had come round [the sun had entered the constellation *Virgo*]. People in the habit of passing to and fro in these parts represented to the Khān, that the time had gone by, and that after this, all the waters of the rivers would be entirely frozen up, in such wise that no water would be procurable, and that a sufficient quantity of firewood was not to be obtained in that part enough to thaw a sufficient quantity to supply the wants of man and beast.[2] Further, that it was necessary to make the utmost endeavours to procure and lay in a sufficiency of the droppings of the wild *qūṭās* or *yāk*, to be able, at least, to cook broth. On this account, to secure a supply, a number of the men of the force [with the Khān] remained behind on this route, on foot, for this purpose. The Khān did not wish to retire and thus spoil this holy warfare, and said that difficulties and hardships were to be expected,

winter quarters. But Lieut.-Col. T. H. Holdich, R. E., who was with the Afghān Boundary Commission, has made a discovery to the contrary; for in his "Report" of the 14th of March, 1887, to the Secretary of State for India, page 25, he assures us that "*kishlaks*" are "mud villages," from "time immemorial" perhaps. After this, what might *īlāq*, or *ilāgh* be, which signify in the same language, a place where nomads take up their summer quarters?

[1] We have been repeatedly informed by persons who wish to be considered authorities in these matters, that we need not have any fear, because there are no practicable routes leading into Kash-mīr through Tibbat, and that that country was never yet invaded from the north. Here is a proof of their incorrectness.

[2] Showing that such was the usual method of obtaining water at that season.

but the merit would be all the greater; and that it was necessary to follow Mīrzā Ḥaidar, referring to myself, and complete the work they had undertaken. The Khān therefore returned from Khutan, and followed the very same route into Bāltī which I had myself taken. On the road his health gave way from an attack of *dam-gīrī*. He was very ill, and would often lapse into insensibility. His physicians tried all their remedies without avail; and although advised to give up proceeding farther by his Amīrs, he would not consent. He was desirous of joining me, although he himself expected he should die on the way. He told them, saying: 'Take me onwards to the scene of operations while life remains; and when I am incapable of anything, then you may do as you consider best.' He repeatedly inquired about me, and prayed that he might last out until he had seen me. It was impossible for them to halt anywhere, notwithstanding the state the Khān was in, because of the excessive cold, and the absence of water and forage, besides which, the very act of delaying in any one place would be the cause of increase of the malady; and the only chance remaining was for him to be taken to a place where the effects of this *dam-gīrī* were by no means so great. The Amīrs accordingly had taken the Khān to such a place; and on that day I arrived in his camp. The Khān had come to himself again on that day, and was much pleased at seeing me, and thanked God that I had come; and he actually recovered a little, so that we were able to conduct him into Nūbrah. There a consultation was held, and each one gave his opinion; and I represented to the Khān that, with all my search and inquiries, I found there was no place in these parts of Tibbat where more than 1,000 men could find winter quarters, and such a small number were incapable of suppressing any outbreak or quelling any hostility if it arose, and that, with the exception of Kash-mīr, no one could point out any other befitting place in which to remain for the winter. On the way, however, were several passes, in consequence of which, the weak state of the Khān's condition would not possibly admit of his proceeding thither; that if the Khān consented to the arrangement, 1,000 men should be left in attendance on him, and he should return to Bāltī, where there was neither *dam-gīrī* to fear, nor passes to be crossed; while I, with the rest of the force, would proceed into Kash-mīr and there remain for the winter, and when spring should come round we could act as might be deemed advisable. The Khān approved of this; and as it was understood at the outset, that Tibbat was not a country into which a large force could be taken[1]

1 When Ūktāe Qā'ān undertook the final conquest of Khitāe, in Rabī'u-l-awwal, 627 H. (March, 1230 A.D.), he despatched a force of 20,000 men under his brother, Tūlī Khān, along with whom was the Juzbī, Tūqūlqū, to enter that territory by the

[supported], the number originally fixed was only 5,000 in all: 3,000 with the Khān, and 2,000 under my orders. Accordingly, the Khān now took 1,000 men along with him, and marched towards Bāltī; while the remaining 4,000, with several Amīrs of the Khān, proceeded with me towards Kash-mīr.

"The Khān reached Bāltī at the end of *Libra*; and of the chiefs of that part, Bahrām, the Jū [or Jū-ī], presented himself, and submitted to him, but the rest of the Jū-īān [plural of Jū or Jū-ī] of Bāltī, as is usual among such infidels, showed hostility and contumacy. With Bahrām, Jū, leading the way, the force with the Khān attacked Shigar, which is the seat of Government and chief place in all Bāltī, and which was taken on the first attack. The men were put to the sword, while the women and children, and plunder, were appropriated by the Khān's soldiers. After that they did not refrain from attacking other approachable places in that mountain tract, but, where there were strong forts and difficult *darahs*, those they were unable to approach, and they were left alone in consequence.

"On account of the depth of the snow that winter, no news could be sent from Kash-mīr to the Khān, and therefore the contumacious infidels gave out such reports as suited them and their infernal purposes, [Then, as now, all who defend their homes and their liberty, in these parts, and refuse "to come in," are all "rebels and freebooters," and their designs "infernal"], so that the troops in Bāltī had become anxious and depressed; until, at the close of winter, the swift messengers whom I sent from Kash-mīr to the Khān, to announce the conquest of that territory, turned their sorrow into joy. In the beginning of spring, the Khān, with his force, retired from Bāltī; and the expedition into Nūbrah, which I had made preparations for undertaking in person, had been entrusted by the Khān to the great Amīr, the Kōkaldāsh, whose name has been mentioned before in the affairs of Kāshghar. Through defective counsel, however, and want of unanimity and foresight among his forces, they had devastated all that tract in such a manner, that the whole of the people thereof had been roused to resistance. All that could do so had fled to the strong places, and only their families and feeble people, who could not be removed, were left behind. Abandoning them, they did not cease from plundering on the routes, and from sedition, and other improper acts. As it was not

southern route through Tibbat, and near the northern frontier of the empire of Mahā Cīn. * * * * Tūlī's force was nearly perishing of famine, so that his men were actually reduced to the necessity of eating human flesh and dry grass, and his further progress was stopped until aid was sent him. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, note, page 928.

advisable for them [the force under the Kōkal-dāsh] to continue in Nūbrah any longer, they had come to Mār-yōl. Tā Shīgūn [the chief of that part] not having presented himself, one fort belonging to him was captured, and he and its defenders killed; and they were occupying the place when I arrived from Kash-mīr to present myself to the Khān, as I shall now proceed to relate.

"Having set out from Nūbrah, with the additional troops sent along with me by the Khān, as before mentioned, and rejoined my own force which I had left in the neighbourhood of Mār-yōl, I advanced with all possible celerity towards Kash-mīr. On the way, all the chiefs of Tibbat, through whose districts we passed, submitted, and added their fighting men to the number of mine. Some of Bāltī Tibbat lying in our way we made incursions into; and in the middle of *Scorpio*, in Jamādiu-ṣ-ṣānī, 939 H.[1] (February, 1533 A.D.), entered Kash-mīr by the Zōjī *Lah* or Pass [by the Dirās road. I need not give here what he says about Kash-mīr and the operations therein: they are matters of history which I hope to discuss hereafter]. At the end of Shawwāl (about the end of June, 1533 A.D.) we again set out from Kash-mīr on our return, by the same route as we had entered it, by Lār. On reaching the frontiers of Tibbat, most of the people of that part came and presented *pēsh-kash* [tribute], and their wealth, with the exception of those of Karsah [the "Kartse" of the maps], which is a territory or district dependent on Tibbat, consisting of a *darah* or valley narrower than the heart of a miser, and the sides were steep in proportion, so that, at midday even, the route through it was dark. The people thereof were very bold and audacious, as they conceived it would be impossible to get at them. We reached the entrance to it after the time of midday prayer; and during the night every one made his preparations, and waited for the next day to dawn. We attacked them, and they several times rolled down great stones upon the troops of Islām, who, however, scaled the towering heights, and at last gained the victory. As it was all mountain, the enemy could not easily escape, and consequently most of them were killed, and their families and their effects became the booty of the victors. This success produced a wonderful effect on other parts, the people of which could not offer us too much; and all the wealth of the Pūrīk district, or territory, dependent on Tibbat, was gathered in, and this I divided among the Amīrs and soldiery, after having selected a few of the best things for presentation to the Khān."

[1] This would be in February, 1533 A.D., but the sun enters *Scorpio* in October; and the year 939 H. commenced on the 2nd of August, 1532 A.D. I think, therefore, the Mīrzā must mean Rabī'u-l-awwal or Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī, the third or fourth month, not the sixth month of the year as above.

THE KHĀN SETS OUT FOR YĀR-KAND, HAVING NOMINATED THE AUTHOR TO PROCEED TOWARDS ŪRSĀNG, AND THE KHĀN'S DEATH.

"After my return from Kash-mīr to the Khān's presence at Mār-yōl, he held counsel with all his Amīrs; and finding that he was unable to undertake the chief object of this expedition himself, that is to say, the destruction of the great idol-temple of Ūrsāng,[1] the place to which all the people of Khiṭāe turn towards in prayer [most sacred place], and which he considered it was his duty as a pious Musalmān to do, he determined to send me on that service. I was to take whomsoever I chose with me, and was to have entire control over every one. I determined to take my brother, 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and my paternal uncle's son, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and Jānkah Mīrzā, who is mentioned in the account of Kāshghar; and of the common men I selected 2,000, and prepared for the expedition. Six days of Ẕī-Ḥijjah [the last month] were occupied in this, when the time came for bidding adieu to the Khān, who was going from Mār-yōl to Yār-kand. I accompanied him one stage on the way, when the time for separation came. He kept his looks fixed upon me as long as he could see me, as I did towards him as long as he was in sight, and then I turned away with tearful eyes, and heart burning with the fire of separation from one I was never again to behold. I heard from him four days after, that he, having passed beyond the Sāqirī *'Uqbah* or Pass,[2] intending to push on after he usual religious observances of the 'Īd-i-Aẓḥā [10th of the month above named]; and this was his last epistle to me. After having observed the ceremonies of that festival he had set out, being taken on with all possible celerity; and he had cleared the Mūz Árt[3] [Ice Defile Pass] when his condition changed for the worst, through the noxious air of that tract. From thence to the place where the malady of *dam-gīrī* ceases to affect one was eight days' journey [ordinary stages], and he wished to be taken on as quickly as possible. As the only hope of saving his life was to get him beyond its influence, they seated him on horseback, supporting him on either side, when an upright position is the worst possible one for a person suffering from this malady, and he ought to have been placed in a litter. They completed the eight stages in four days; and at the time of afternoon prayer, had reached a place within three *farsakhs* or leagues of where all danger from *dam-gīrī* ceases, when the good Khān breathed his last." [Here Mīrzā Ḥaidar pays a grateful tribute to his memory, and mourns

1 He writes this name Orsang as well as Ursāng.

2 See my *Notes*, page 314.

3 This word is not '*muz*,' but *mūz*, the u being long.

the loss of him who had cherished him from his boyhood, whose brother-in-law he was, in whose service he had passed twenty-eight years, and from whom, up to the very last, he had received constant proofs of affection and confidence. His death took place on the 16th of Zī-Ḥijjah, 939 H. (7th July, 1533, old style), aged 47. He was descended from Caghātāe Khān, son of the Cingiz, or Great, Khān, and had reigned over Kāshghar and Yār-kand for twenty years independently. Bābar Bādshāh was his paternal uncle's son.]

"I passed the 'Īd-i-Aẓḥá at Mār-yōl, and then set out on my expedition against Ūrsāng. We proceeded twenty days' journey, meeting with none of the infidels of Tibbat; for such as there were had dispersed and entered into their forts, which were of considerable strength, and in which they placed great confidence, and to capture which would have been a difficult matter, and the advantage to be gained thereby not equal to the trouble. So, leaving Iskandar Sulṭān, and my brother, 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā to follow, with the heavy baggage and materials, and the weak mules, we set out with the light-armed troops and the strongest horses, with all possible celerity. On the 1st of Ṣafar (second month), 940 H. (21st of August, 1533 A.D.) we reached a place called Bār-yāng, belonging to a numerous nomad people (*lit.* dwellers in tents) of Tibbat, whom we came upon and harried, so that we captured near upon 300,000 sheep, together with captives, horses, and other property, all of which became the booty of the soldiery. There we halted for some time to allow the cattle to graze in the pasture lands thereof, and to allow Iskandar Sulṭān, 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and Maḥmūd Mīrzā, to come up. As I had gone on in advance, they were following at leisure; and on the 1st of Muḥarram (first month) of the year 940 H. (22nd July, 1533 A.D.), they had moved against one of those forts which I previously referred to, named Kārdūn,[1] and having reduced its defenders to extremity, they applied for aid to one of the Rāes of Hindūstān, and had brought thither 3,000 Hindūs, dagger-men [*kaṭārah-dār*], infantry. Iskandar Sulṭān, and my brothers, with 200 of their men, moved to attack them, and with such haste, that only a few of that number kept up with them. My brother, 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, was an intrepid youth, and previous to this had performed brave deeds in the force along with the late Khān in Bāltī. Flushed therefrom, he did not wait for the troops

[1] Possibly "Kārdam" of Walker's map in longitude 81° 8′, latitude 30° 27′, and about eighteen miles south-west of his "Rakas Kal Lake," near the frontiers of Hindūstān and Nēpāl, but I think it is much farther south than the route taken by Mīrzā Ḥaidar. There is a place called Barkhal on some maps in about longitude 84° 50′, and latitude 35° 30′, but that again is too far north.

to come up, but foolishly threw himself upon the enemy, with only three men with him. The enemy surrounded them; and at this juncture, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, with four others came to his assistance, charged among the enemy, and rescued 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā. Not content with this, 'Abdu-l-lāh [and the others] again faced about and charged their opponents; and he was again completely surrounded, when five heroes came up, and seeing them in this plight, they also charged the infidels; but before they could reach them, they had cut my brother, 'Abdu-l-lāh, into pieces, in such wise that every bit of his body, armour, and clothes remained in the possession of those infidels.

"Having continued in the pasture grounds here [at Bār-yāng] until the cattle were refreshed and recruited, I sent back from this place all the booty that had been taken; and having carefully selected 900 men from my force, with these I set out for Ūrsāng. From Mār-yōl of Tibbat to this place is a distance of two months' journey, and when within one month's distance from it, we reached a point where there is a great *kōl* or lake,[1] the circumference of which is forty *farsangs* [leagues], and on the banks thereof there is a fort which they call Tōk [Thōk] of Labōk, or Labūk, and there we happened to pass the night. Alas, when we awoke the next morning, the whole of the horses were dead, with the exception of a very few which were half-dead and paralyzed or distorted! I had twenty-seven horses of my own along with me, and by morning, but one remained unaffected, two others were half-dead, and twenty-four were quite dead; and this was the effect of *dam-gīrī*, as before explained.

"When we started from that place that morning one-fifth of the troops only were mounted, and the rest had to march on foot. On the second day, a district or territory named Yam[2] was harried, and many captives were taken. The people thereof stated that from thence to Bangālah was a road of twenty-four days' journey.[3] At this time, of

[1] This lake seems to be the "Chargut Cho, or Lake" of the maps, the largest of several west and north-west of the Tingrī Nāwar, and from which Lhāsa is distant about two hundred and fifty miles towards the south-east. At the rate of about twenty-five miles a day, which would be the average for horsemen in this part, it would be just ten stages from Lhāsa, and about three hundred and sixty miles northwards of Dārjīling. We must, however, allow for the physical changes of nearly four centuries.

[2] This evidently is the name which occurs in that of the *Chō* or lake to the south-west of the "Chargut Cho."

[3] It was by this route probably that Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn, Muḥammad, the Khalj Turk, son of Bakht-yāru-d-dīn, and conqueror of Bang-āl (Bengal) invaded Tibbat from his capital, Lakhaṇawatī, at the close of the year 610 H. (1205 A.D.), as related in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pages 560–568. After he had passed "the

the force along with me, the number of mounted men whose horses were strong enough to go on, amounted to ninety only; and with these I proceeded four days' journey onwards to Asbaraq, from which to Ūrsāng[1]

great river, Bēg-matī [the Brahmā-putr?], which in volume, breadth and depth, was three times greater than the Gang, he pushed on for fifteen days, and, on the sixteenth, reached the open country of Tibbat."

The Cingiz Khān while wintering at and around Gībarī in the district to the north of Peshāwar, before hearing that all Tingqūt and Ṭamghāj was in a state of revolt, was desirous of entering India, and returning into Cīn by way of Lakhaṇawaṭī and Kāmrūd; but, on hearing of these formidable insurrections, he resolved to return by the way he came, by Buqlān, Bukhārā, and Samar-qand, where he passed the winter of 620-621 H. (1223-24 A.D.), and subsequently set out for the disturbed territories "by way of Lōb and the country of Tibbat," that is, along the skirt of the Āltān Tāgh referred to in p. 89 note [3].

[1] It will be noticed that the Mīrzā never mentions the name of any place called Lhāsa, and yet, without doubt, he refers to the great temple or series of temples at the place known to us by that name. But from the context here, and what the old Jesuit travellers have stated, Lhāsa was the name of the territory, and not of the temple, or place of residence of the Grand Lāmah. In the map to Prejevalsky's travels, in the "*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*," for May, 1887, "*Utsang*" appears as the name of the territory or province in which what we call Lhāsa is situated. This may be a vitiated form of Ūrsāng, the name of the great temple according to the Mīrzā.

According to the Jesuit Grueber, however, Lhāsa was the name of the territory or province, and not the name of the capital and the residence of the Grand Lāmah, where the great temple is, which he says is called "*Butala*," and which "adjoined the city of Tonkir." From this it would seem that the names have been changed in comparatively modern times since the Mīrzā wrote; but "Butala" cannot be Ūrsāng, as the former temple was only built in 1644 A.D.

It is not impossible that the name Lhāsa may have been applied to the capital and great temple in the same manner that Srī-Nagar is called "the city of Kashmīr:" not meaning that the city ever was or is called Kash-mīr, but, that it was and is "*the* chief city *of* or *belonging to* the territory of Kash-mīr." In the same way, probably, Tōnkīr was styled "The chief place or city of or belonging to Lhāsa," and from constant use that name has been applied exclusively to the city where the great temple is, and where the Grand Lāmah resides.

Grueber calls the whole country *Tangut* [Tingqūt of the Mughals and Turks], and says it is divided into several parts, of which Lhāsa, or Barantolo is the chief.

In the account of Anandah, son of Mangqlīn, son of Qubīlāe Qā'ān, in Tingqūt, the Tārīkh-i-Alfī states, that Tīmūr Qā'ān, another grandson of Qubīlāe, who succeeded him, confirmed Anandah, his cousin, in the government of that territory; and it is stated in that work, that "Tingqūt is an extensive territory on the west side of Khiṭāe, and Tingqūt, in the language of Khiṭāe, is called Hawāshī, that is, the *rūd khānah*, or river, on the west, because most of the cities of Tingqūt are situated on the banks of that river [the Hoang-Ho?]. The great cities of that territory, which used to be the capitals and seat of government of that part from time to time, are five [the names of which are given, but only two can be written with any certainty, the others having no vowel points; namely, Qanjānqū, which

only eight days' journey remained. As, however, the horses of the men still remaining with me were falling, it became absolutely necessary to return. There was no help for it: and after setting out on our return, in six days we rejoined those we had left at Yam,[1] and from thence continued our retreat. This took place on the 8th of Rabī'u-l-ākhir (fourth month: November); and at the end of Jamādīu-l-ākhir, we reached Tām-Līk, distant from Mār-yōl twenty days' journey, and again joined the men with the booty and plunder which had been previously sent back. At Tām-Līk, which is one of the great territories of Tibbat, the people of Kōkah, having come, said that they agreed to pay the *jazīah* [a capitation tax on infidels, or non-Musalmāns], and invited me to come thither and fix the same, such as their means would admit of. In consequence of this request, I proceeded towards Kōkah, and between it and Tām-Līk passed one night on the road [took him two days to go], and reached it. The people received me in the most hospitable manner; and I remained there three days, and fixed the *jazīah* on that

might possibly be meant for Kong-tsang-fū of the Chinese, and Ū-bālīḳ. The others are written in the original, قحسدق, ازروی or اردوی, and حلحان]. There are twenty-four lesser cities, besides towns and villages without number, and most of the inhabitants are Musalmāns.

The authors of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, in another place, quoting from some older works, state, that "Tingqūt is described as a mountainous country (also) called Ankasāe. The Mughals called the country, which contained cities, fortresses, and many buildings, Aqashīn or Qāshīn," the chief city, apparently, giving name to the country also. See also note [1], page 88.

Tingqūt seems to be the Hya or Ning-hya of the Chinese, the capital of which is called Īrīqī or Irqī in the Tingqūt language, and Iriqīā or Irqīā by the Mughals. There is still a "Ning-hya-wei" close to the Great Wall.

Sum-pa Khan-po, the Lāmah, quoted elsewhere, states, that in 1205 A.D. "Chiñgis [the Cingiz, or Great, Khān] entered Tibbat, and subjugated all its provinces with the exception of Mi-Nag." This invasion of Tingqūt, as the Mughals style it, took place in 603 H. (1206-7 A.D). The Lāmah afterwards states that "Chiñgis subjugated Mi-ñag of Tibbat in 1225 A.D., after which he died." This agrees with the Mughal accounts, which state, that, in 622 H. (1224-25 A.D.), the Cingiz Khān entered Tingqūt or Qāshīn, Shīdarqū, the Tingrī Khān, the ruler, having assembled a vast army, intending to throw off the Mughal yoke. The cities of Qām-jīw, Kā-jū, Su-jū, Arūmī or Urūmī, were taken, and the city of Ningāī, evidently the Ning-hya of the Chinese, was invested. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 1085.

It must not be forgotten that Tibbat and parts adjacent have been subject to some great earthquakes, which probably changed the face of the country in many parts, and the courses of rivers. There was a great earthquake in 1352 A.D., and another, a fearful one, in 1681 A.D.

[1] This name is written Nīm here—نیم. Before it was Yam—یم—and I believe the additional point, making it Nīm, is an error of the copyist.

place [*sic*] at 3,000 Tibbatī *miṣqāls* [of gold], which are one *miṣqāl* and a half of our weight, and returned again [to Tām-Līk].

"Having completed this arrangement, I set out on my return; and on the road disastrous news reached me of the breaking up and dispersion of the force originally sent with me, as will be presently explained. [Here reference is made to the acts of 'Abdu-r-rashīd Sulṭān, the son and successor of the late Sulṭān, Sa'īd Khān, over Kāshghar]. Rashīd Sulṭān, when he set to work to murder his kindred, and afflict and plunder them, despatched an agent into Tibbat, and entrusted him with several mandates bearing his seal. One was for his brother, Iskandar Sulṭān, who was along with me, saying: "I give up to thee the territory of Tibbat; and let Mīrzā Ḥaidar and Maḥmūd Mīrzā remain there." To the rest of those composing the force, to every troop and standard, one of these missives was sent, to this effect: "Every man who after this continues to remain in Tibbat, and does not immediately on the receipt of this order, forthwith disband and set out towards Yār-kand, his wife, family, and effects will be sold in Qīrghīz [1] in exchange for horses." As this order had been received when I was away at Kōkah, as already mentioned, and had become known throughout the force, and its meaning fully understood, the men composing it, considering my absence very fortunate, deserted, and set out with all haste towards Yār-kand. Only Iskandar Sulṭān and my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, with a few followers, remained. Two days after this catastrophe I arrived at the stage or halting place [Tām-Līk] from whence the troops had dispersed and gone off. Iskandar Sulṭān and my cousin, Maḥmūd, related what had happened, and advised that we should not move that day, but remain there over night, as some of those who had gone off had done so because they were help-

1 In another part of his work the author mentions who the Qīrghīz are, and which information people in the present day, for the most part, are ignorant of. He says: "The Qīrghīz are a tribe of Mughals, a division of the Ūir-āts, of which latter race near upon 30,000 remained [in his day] within the limits of Ṭurfān and Kāshghar. These Qīrghīz having manifested much hostility towards the princes of the other Mughals, they separated from them; and the latter people, having become Musalmāns, while the Qīrghīz continued infidels, the other Mughals, in consequence, expelled them altogether." I have mentioned these facts, because we may be told hereafter that the Qīrghīz are a totally different race.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar calls the tract which these Qirghīz inhabited in his day, Qīrghīz likewise, that is, *the country of the* Qīrghīz.

Ibn Ḥauqal mentions the country of Khirkhīz or Ghirghīz, and says: "The country of Tibbat is situated between Khirkhīz and the empire of Cīn. Cīn lies between the sea and the land of the Ghuzz (Turks) and Tibbat; but the other parts [some ?] of Tibbat were annexed to it." See page 85.

less, and knew not what else to do, and that it was probable some of the staunch ones would rejoin us. I had along with me in this expedition some hundred veterans, champions, and leaders, who had served with me for years, and their fathers and grandfathers had also served, who had been with me in many conflicts, and whom I looked upon and trusted as equals and brothers, rather than as subordinates. They had been selected by me on many occasions for honourable posts, and on the part of whom hostility I considered wholly impossible; yet, even these deserted me in the night and fled. In the morning I found all had deserted me, but Jān Aḥmad, Atkah,[1] whom I regarded as my foster father, and one of my Qōkal-tāshīs,[2] named Shāh Muḥammad, whom I implicitly trusted, but he came back again, bringing five menial servants with him. I was thus relieved of the fear of being left entirely alone; and altogether, that day, about fifty men assembled around me. From this halting place we now set out towards Mār-yōl. It was the beginning of the winter season, and the sun had entered *Capricorn*, and the cold was so intense as cannot be described. Out of this number with me, some forty either lost a hand, foot, ear, eye, or nose, from the frost; and with the endurance of these afflictions and tortures we succeeded in twenty-five days in reaching Mār-yōl again.

The Jū-iān of Mār-yōl, Tā Shīgūn, [and] Raltah Jighdān, who have been mentioned previously,[3] hastened to present themselves and tender their services, notwithstanding, that previously, they had been treated with severity, plundered, and their people killed. I was rather suspicious at this, but, contrary to my expectations, they proceeded to perform various sorts of good service for us; and, to assure us, stated, that it was four hundred years that from father to son they had been subjects of our Bādshāhs, "we their subjects and servants, and they our protectors and nourishers;" that, "if at the time when [those Bādshāhs came] in pomp and grandeur, with a great number of followers, and they themselves through fear and apprehension had committed any transgression or misconduct, it had been visited with corresponding punishment, according to usage in such cases. If every one among the Jū-iān of Tibbat had at that time submitted and presented themselves, they had done so out of fear and terror, but that now they offered their services in all sincerity and truth, and from their hearts, not from the tip of the tongue." The fort of Shīah or Shiyah, which is the

1 Atkah really means a tutor or instructor,—a superior servant entrusted with the education of his master's son.

2 This word Qōkal-tāsh or Qōkal-dāsh, for it is written both ways, appears equivalent to a subaltern, henchman, or armour-bearer.

3 Only one of those, Tā Shīgūn. See page 99.

chief place and seat of Government of the Mār-yōl territory, they gave up to us as an offering; and we entered it, and took up our quarters therein. In short, we there enjoyed comparative luxury and comfort after all our hardships and difficulties. While there also, several of the men of the army, who had remained behind in that part, rejoined us; and among them was the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā-Tāgh, one of the followers of the Makhdūm, the Khwājah, Muḥammad Yūsuf. The Maulānā was a good man, and was exceedingly well acquainted with the Tibbatī language; and he was on terms of friendship and intimacy with all the Jū-īān of Tibbat. One, a Ḥājī, from Kash-mīr, also joined me; and he will be often mentioned in this work. In this manner over sixty persons were now collected about me, but all the soldiery had deserted and gone off [with the few exceptions referred to]. The latter, from the severity of the climate, and the difficulty and affliction that befel them on the way towards Yār-kand, found it was almost impossible to proceed. Those who persevered in so doing lost all their property, and 150 men among the number died from the excessive cold, and the remainder, half dead, succeeded in reaching Yār-kand. Another body turned back, and reached Mār-yōl in a sorry plight. Again a body of about 500 men were got together, and we succeeded in collecting about 10,000 sheep, so that we were able to live in comfort again.

"When I returned from the Ūrsāng expedition, and before reaching Mār-yōl, I had, it will be remembered, despatched Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, and Shāh Muḥammad, the Qōkal-tāsh, with presents and rarities, taken during the expedition, to Rashīd Sulṭān, to Yār-kand, and to remind him of certain previous agreements between us. * * * * When that winter had come to a close, Rashīd Sulṭān despatched Bēdkan, son of Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, who is my Qōkal-tāsh, and associated along with him, Ḥasan, Diwānah, to make his apologies and express regret at what had happened out of inadvertency, and of which he was much ashamed; and therefore it was necessary to express his regret to that friend, meaning myself, at what had happened. Further, that the Maulānā, Qōdāsh, with 200 men, had been despatched to join me, and that my own servants who had reached his presence [with the presents], should return again without let or hindrance. He also sent me some horses and a few rarities. The receipt of this communication was satisfactory; and now great part of Tibbat acknowledged submission to us.

"Maulānā Qōdāsh arrived in due course, and along with him several trustworthy dependents of mine; and after the arrival of this party we moved towards the boundary of Tibbat which adjoins Kash-

mīr, and all Bāltī paid its assessed revenue in a satisfactory manner. Sōrū, which is one of the places belonging to Bāltī, is the strongest and most defensible in that country.[1] Maulānā Qōdāsh asked permission to go there and collect the revenue assessed upon it. I was not willing, as I know those infidels do not like that any one should see their *darahs* and strong places; and they had intimated that they would themselves come, and bring the revenue to me along with them, at the place where I then was, and therefore there was no necessity for sending any one to collect it. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise, and the Maulānā went; and the Sōrū people waylaid him in a narrow defile, and without giving him any chance of resistance, slew him and twenty-four other trustworthy persons besides. Although my force numbered near upon 700 men, yet, from want of discipline and training, and deficiency of weapons, to avenge them was impossible; and much chagrined at not being able to do so, we moved from Bāltī to Tibbat-i-Zang-As-skār[2] [Zang-Skār], which is the name of one of the territories of Tibbat. It had not as yet been entered on account of its altitude,[3] and the difficulty of approaching it; and the time for collecting the assessed revenue was not yet arrived, when we appeared on the scene, to wait for the time, and in combination collect it. At this time a messenger came from one of the Jū-ī[4] of Bāltī, Tungī Sukāb, by name, who had done good service for me on a former occasion, saying, that now the opportunity had come for making a raid upon the murderers of Maulānā Qōdāsh, and slaying the males in retribution for their murdering him and his party, and making their families captive.

"I had sent back some of the men composing my small force, whose strength had failed them, to Mār-yōl, so that I might be able to move quickly with the strong and robust. As an escort to these weak men, I had sent my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and a small party, to conduct them one stage on the way back, as the route was dangerous, and, having conducted them through the dangerous part, to halt at that stage for the night. I told him to keep the horses of his party near him during the night on account of the danger of the locality; and a horse, while grazing near the place of his repose, came rather too close to his head. He struck the horse to make the animal move a little farther off, when it launched out at him, and gave him such a kick in the

[1] The altitude of Sōrū, in the *darah* of that name, is just 10,624 feet above the sea level, and has lofty mountains on all sides of it.

[2] Also written Zaṇs-kār, and Zās-kār by more recent authors. See my *Notes* page 313.

[3] Zang-As-skār stands much higher than Sōrū.

[4] Jū or Jū-ī, plural Jū-īān, is the Tibbatī for a petty chief. Note to page 103.

forehead that it was beaten in to the extent of the size of the horse's hoof. The next day he came to me, and I examined the wound; and, according to the custom of the Mughal surgeons, I extracted the pieces of bone from the wound, and set to to cure him if I could. I sent word of this untoward accident to Tungī Sukāb, who sent a message in reply saying, that as it appeared there was now a difficulty in my coming, if I would despatch a few men, he having captured Sōrū, would send me a fifth of whatever booty might be taken. This message reached me at Khūrbā,[1] in the centre of Zang-As-skār, where I was then halted; and Sōt, where Tungī Sukāb dwelt, was five days' journey off. I accordingly despatched the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā Tāgh, who was on very friendly terms with the Jū-iāns of Tibbat, along with Nūr 'Alī, Dīwānah, who was one of the most trustworthy of my adherents, and who, when the troops deserted and went off towards Yār-kand, on the occasion previously referred to had returned to me again. These two I made leaders, and sent 70 men along with them; and they proceeded, and reached the place agreed upon where they were to meet Tungī Sukāb.

"Two months almost had now passed since my cousin Maḥmūd met with his mishap, and the wound had spread over his whole face. It was highly dangerous, on account of the severe cold, for him to remain in Zang-As-skār. Helpless, and not knowing what else to do, I sent him back to Mār-yōl, remaining in Zang-As-skār myself, intending, that, after Maḥmūd should have reached Mār-yōl safely, I would myself set out towards Sōrū and see whether the means of livelihood were attainable there or not. When Maḥmūd reached the place where the horse had kicked him, on his way to Mār-yōl, he remained there for the night; and in the morning, about the time of mounting to proceed onwards, he had unbound his head in order to apply a dressing to the wound, when the cold air affected his brain, and he became insensible. At the time of afternoon prayer a man came back to me in all haste; and I went off, and arrived at midnight, and Maḥmūd was still unconscious. * * * * He died the third day after that. * * * *

"At this time of sorrow and affliction, a man arrived, sent from the party despatched towards Sōrū, saying that Nūr 'Alī, Dīwānah, having combined with those sent with him, had seized the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā Tāgh, and had gone off to Bāghān, one of the Jū-iāns of one of the territories of Tibbat, whom the Maulānā, it was said, had, on some previous occasion, deceived or imposed upon, and had badly wounded the said Bāghān, and placed his life in danger.

[1] Possibly "Kursha" of the maps.

These tyrants had made over the Maulānā as a present to this infidel, and thereby having obtained permission of him to depart, they all went off to Yār-kand. That Tibbatī infidel killed the Maulānā by fastening up his mouth with a wooden skewer! The Sōrū affair, in consequence of this incident, had to be abandoned.

"I brought Maḥmūd's corpse to Mār-yōl, and from thence sent it on to Kāshghar to be deposited in the sepulchre of our forefathers. This affair happened in the beginning of winter, in *Scorpio*, when the cold of Tibbat is so intense, that we proceeded to Mār-yōl; and during that winter, and up to the beginning of spring, we endured such hardships and misery as cannot be expressed. When spring came round, for the sake of the horses, I set out with 70 persons, for Ūtlūq, a place to which people go, and which is noted throughout Tibbat for the nourishing powers of its grass. There I employed my time in hunting the wild ass, and the wild *yāk*, and in due course returned to Mār-yōl again. When I set out for Ūtlūq, I had left Iskandar Sulṭān at Mār-yōl in charge of the rest of the men; and now that all had assembled in one place, and the horses had become fat and strong, the men, unable any longer to endure the miseries and privations of this service, all of a sudden separated and deserted, and went off to Yār-kand. Only 50 men out of the whole of them remained with us: all the rest had fled. At this juncture, Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, whom two years before, on the way back from the Ūrsāng expedition, I had sent to Rashīd Sulṭān with presents, as before mentioned, arrived from Yār-kand, and brought me information, which plainly showed that it would not be well or safe for me to remain in Tibbat any longer. This was the reason why I remained in it so long; for if I had left it and gone off any where else, Rashīd Sulṭān would have been sure to have laid the fault on me; but now he had broken the most solemn promises and compacts, confirmed by the most binding oaths, and they were buried in oblivion; but the breaking of his oaths lay on his own shoulders. Immediately after the arrival of Jān Aḥmad, therefore, I prepared to set out towards Badakhshān."

The Author proceeds into Badakhshān.

"I have before mentioned that out of 700 persons along with me in Tibbat only 50 now remained, the rest having fled in the best manner they were able towards Yār-kand. I have likewise mentioned the difficulties and hardships met with on the routes in Tibbat, through want of forage for horses, the lack of firewood, the excessive coldness of the air, and the difficulty of communication. All these difficulties exist to that degree that, even the mildest nature would refuse to put

up with such; and besides all these, there is the impossibility of obtaining a sufficient quantity of food and clothing, and other necessaries, and particularly horse-shoes, which on such routes cannot be dispensed with. Consequently, what with the failing strength of the horses, and want of food for them, and other matters, it was found impossible to continue any longer in Tibbat. We could neither go to Kash-mīr, nor Kāshghar, nor Turfān, nor Hindūstān: all were impossible of attainment as being unsafe. The only part in which there was a hope of security, and a chance of being well received, was Badakhshān. No one [among us] had seen any practicable route leading from Tibbat into Badakhshān which did not enter Kāshghar [territory ?]; but among those men who had deserted with the intention of going off to Yār-kand, and had come back to us again, one, named Jahān Shāh, had, on a previous occasion, related, that he had heard from the people dwelling in the Kōhistān of Yār-kand, who were talking together on the subject, that from a place called Taghā-nāḳ there was a route in this way and that way, which came out into the Pā-mīr of Badakhshān.[1] I had at this juncture made inquiry of Jahān Shāh about this route, and we now set out to follow this road which as yet we had not seen. Of the fifty men remaining with me, as I have before mentioned, several of them, on account of want of strength to accompany us, remained in Tibbat, and with twenty-seven in all I set out. What with the lack of the necessary equipment for such a journey, and want of strength in the cattle, the difficulties of the route, and the intense cold, although the sun was in the constellation of *Virgo* [month of August], the danger was considerable; for when we reached a place called Qarā Quram ['Place of the Fallen Black Rocks'][2] at the time of the setting of the sun, the river there, which is of considerable size, became completely frozen over, and everywhere, where the ice was broken to obtain

[1] I hope it will be noted here that, even three hundred and sixty-five years ago, the Pā-mīr, or a large portion of it, belonged to, and formed part of, the territory dependent on Badakhshān. Russians will probably have the assurance to state that the Pā-mīr, or any portion of it, never belonged to Badakhshān. Another portion of it was subject to the rulers of Kāshghar.

[2] This does not seem to be the Pass of that name incorrectly written and "popularly" called, the "*Karakoram*" Pass, but a place much more to the west, and so called for the same reason as the other—"The Place of Fallen Black Rocks." To go from Mār-yōl to the "Qarā-Quram" Pass would have taken the Mīrzā and his party some 200 miles farther eastwards than there was any necessity for, and the retracing of his steps westwards would have added a similar distance. Besides, it is mentioned, that on the third day after Iskandar Sultān separated from them at the point [Taghā-nāq], where this unexplored route into Badakhshān branched off from the Yār-kand road, they in three days reached the Rās-kām *darah*. See my *Notes*, page 307.

water, not a drop was to be procured. We used our utmost endeavours to obtain some up to the time of the prayer before going to sleep, but without success. The cattle, which during the whole day had passed through a tract subject to the *dam-gīrī* malady, were thus without water on reaching their halting place, and forage for them was as scarce as silver to collect; and the little barley that was given them, they did not eat through want of water. At this juncture, Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, said that he remembered having once seen a spring hereabouts, and that it was necessary for us to go on about half a *farsaḵẖ* (league) farther to reach it. We did so, and he pointed out a place among the ice where it should be broken. This was done, and water was found, and the cattle were watered; but there was a mule with us, one of the strongest among all the animals, which got lock-jaw for want of water, and notwithstanding all its efforts to do so, it could not drink, and died. Consequently, the necessary things with which it used to be laden had to be abandoned.

"Having reached the point where this unexplored route leading into Badakẖẖshān branched off [from that leading to Yār-kand], Iskandar Sulṭān requested me to give him permission to leave us, saying he 'would go to Rashīd Sulṭān, and that perhaps out of brotherly feeling[1] and kindness, he might take pity on him, as he might now be probably satiated with the destruction he had already wrought upon his kindred.' I tried all I could to dissuade him, and assured him that no favour was to be hoped for from such an one. The difficulties and hardships of the way, and the distressed condition we were in, combined with want of resolution, and the uncertainty, tended to render him desperate, and the road of reason was veiled from his mind's eye. I nevertheless complied with his request and wishes, and despatched four men along with him. Five persons having thus separated from us out of twenty-seven, I proceeded on my way with the remaining twenty-two; but on account of their being without shoes, several of our horses broke down. The very same day that Iskandar left me, at the time of afternoon prayer, I had the good luck to kill a wild *yāk*; and we drew pieces of its hide over the hoofs of the broken down horses [in place of shoes], and carried away as much as we possibly could of its flesh. Of food, save some barley, merely sufficient for the horses for one or two days, none remained, therefore this *yāk* was quite a God-send for us. We loaded the horses with as much of its flesh as they could possibly bear —about enough for us all for four or five days—and even then three-fourths of the flesh remained, which we left as a feast for the crows and

[1] They were not brothers by the same mother. Rashīd Sulṭān's mother was one of Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān's other wives.

ravens of those parts, which doubtless, they banqueted upon to their hearts' content. In this way we continued to proceed by conjecture, and next day we killed another wild *yāk*, very much larger and finer than the previous one; and the following day it so happened that the Provider of Daily Bread furnished us with food in plenty.

"From the account given of this route by Jahān Shāh, I conjectured, that in six days more we might reach inhabited tracts; but on the third day after separating from Iskandar Sulṭān, at about breakfast time [between sun rise and noon—the early forenoon], we reached a place where several men were, some of whom, household by household, came forward to meet us with great cheerfulness and good will. We inquired of them about the route and our destination. They told us that the *darah* or valley we were then in was called Rās-kām,[1] and that from where we then were to the Pā-mīr was five days' journey. Having now reached the habitations of men, and such men as we here met with, we recovered from the hardships and troubles of years in the rest and ease we here obtained. The people took from us every horse whose strength had been exhausted, and exchanged with us, and replaced them with others very good and strong. Of food and drink they placed before us the best of every thing they possessed, and pressed us to partake. The men on beholding me would weep involuntarily, and in passing me would say, in their own idiom: "Thanks be to God, that of our sovereign's descendants of four hundred years, thou at least art left. We are thy sacrifice, and we dedicate ourselves to thee with our families, and people, and all we possess." At every place we reached, the whole of the people, with their families, used to accompany us, notwithstanding I forbade them to do so, and would willingly have excused them, but it was of no use, and for the space of seven days, they conducted us, with the utmost honour and kindness, and endearing expressions, to the Pā-mīr,[2] and they even wanted to

[1] The route taken by the Mīrzā led nearly due west into the Darah of Rās-kām, through which a considerable river flows, which, in about the parallel of 76° east longitude, turns towards the north, and unites with the river of Yār-kand. On the south side of this *darah* a range of high mountains separates the Rās-kām from the Kanjut Darah, which routes are described in that part of my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., which has not yet seen the light; but some information respecting these parts will be found at page 315 of that work.

This route taken by Mīrzā Ḥaidar three hundred and sixty odd years ago, is that which, in the account of "the Pevtsof Expedition," given in the "*Geographical Journal*" for July 1893, page 62, is said to be absolutely unknown! I gave an account of it, from Mīrzā Ḥaidar's description, thirteen years before, in 1880, in my *Notes* which see.

[2] See Note [2], page 87.

accompany us, with all their families and belongings, into Badakhshān. At last, I managed to dismiss these kind-hearted people, and proceeded onwards into Badakhshān, to Sulīmān Shāh Mīrzā, who is the son of Mīrzā Khān, who was my maternal aunt's son. He came forth to receive me, and did everything in his power to show me honour and respect; and I gave thanks unto God, that, after all these dangers, I had reached such a place of safety and security.

"At the time that I reached Akhāwān, which is the *sar-ḥadd*,[1] or boundary of Badakhshān[2] [on that side], a man in the service of Rashīd Sulṭān who was there on some affair, presented himself before me; and I gave him a letter in Turkī to deliver to Rashīd Sulṭān, on the subject of his recreant conduct and unfaithfulness. * * * * He, soon after, had the kindness to expel from his territory my wife, who was the mother's sister of Rashīd Sulṭān himself, and sent Iskandar Sulṭān before mentioned, along with her. Another great favour on Rashīd's part was, that he did not plunder her of all she was possessed of, as he had treated others of his kindred. They, in much anxiety of mind, and in very distressed circumstances, along with some others, about ten in all, arrived in Badakhshān."[3] * * * *

That winter was passed by Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā in Badakhshān in comparative comfort, and, in the spring, in the hills and plains thereof; and in the summer he came to Kābul. There many others of the family of the late Sulṭān Sa'id Khān, expelled from the Kāshghar territory by Rashīd Sulṭān, also arrived. Subsequently Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā set out for Hindūstān; and when he reached Lāhōr, Kāmrān Mīrzā [son of Bābar Bādshah] was then there, who received him with honour and great kindness. He says, that about this time, Sām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl, Ṣafawī, and brother of Shāh Thamāsib, the then ruler of Īrān Zamīn, tried to take Qandahār from Kāmrān Mīrzā. This event happened in 941 H. (1538 A.D.), but, after invest-

[1] This word incorrectly written, "*Sarhad*," has been mistaken for the proper name of a place, and still appears in our maps as such, and also as "*Sarhad Wakhan*." The Wākhān district terminates here, as the words Sar-ḥadd-i-Wākhān mean; and this place is not more than eighteen or twenty miles from the Palpī Sang Pass.

[2] Because Wākhān has always been part of the Badakhshān territory.

[3] Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar forgave 'Abdu-r-rashīd Sulṭān—for 'Abdu-r-rashīd is his correct or full name—for his ill-treatment of himself and friends, as he had been led to commit most of his misdeeds by one of his Amīrs, Muḥammadī by name, of the Burlās tribe of Mughals, whom he subsequently rid himself of, and repented of his misdeeds. When Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar wrote his work in 953 H. (1546 A.D.), he named it after 'Abdu-r-rashīd Sulṭān and styled it "Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī."

ing it for eight months, Kāmrān Mīrzā arrived with an army from Lāhōr, defeated Sām Mīrzā, and relieved the place.

I propose shortly to give the other valuable geographical details contained in Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work, respecting Turkistān and Mughalistān, and other matters. In case any one hereafter should avail himself of any of the information contained in this paper, it is to be hoped that it will be acknowledged.

The following brief account of the western part of Tibbat is from the observations of the Mīr, 'Abdu-l-karīm, son of Mīr Ismā'īl, of Bukhārā, who was there in 1224 H. (1809 A.D.). He had gone the preceding year, in company with the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Yūsuf, from Bukhārā, on a mission to Constantinople by way of Moscow. From his account we can gain some idea of the state of western Tibbat about the same time that the Hon'ble Mount-Stuart Elphinstone was at Peshāwar on his mission to Shāh Shuja'u-l-mulk, the Sadōzī ruler of the Afghān State. 'Abdu-l-karīm states, that:—

"There are seven Tibbats, three of which are subject to Kash-mīr, and the other four are independent, and have a Rājā, that is to say, a Ruler, of their own. The most of the people of the Tibbats are followers of the faith of the Qalmāq [Qal-I-māq], Mānī, and some are *Majūs* [Magians]. Corn and provisions are scarce, and many of the people are very poor. Barley meal and flour of millet are obtainable. They give a daughter to ten husbands; and, if any one should take one of the people away and make a Musalmān of him, there is no hindrance. One Tibbat—Tibbat-i-Kalān [or Great Tibbat]—is parallel with Kash-mīr for fifteen stages. When a party of merchants make a purchase of *shāls*, they make up three or five parcels or packages into a bale or bundle, and as many bundles as there may be, they make over to the charge of Kash-mīrī porters hired for the purpose, who convey them on their shoulders, and reach Tibbat in fifteen days. As the route is difficult and mountainous, horses and mules cannot pass that way, and porters are hired upon all occasions. If a merchant so desires, he hires two men, who have small pads fastened to their shoulders; and he mounts the shoulders of one of them. The man takes hold of one foot of the merchant on one side, in front, and the other foot is towards the porter's back; and in this manner he goes along with ease and comfort. The other porter takes his turn to relieve the first, and in this manner they proceed on their way. * * * * Horses can go into Great Tibbat, and merchants avail themselves of them, and ride horses in going by that route.

"When a *Kārwān* (*vul.* "caravan") proceeds from Tibbat towards Yār-kand, which is a territory belonging to Khitāe, they have to pro-

ceed a distance of forty stages, through a part where there are neither inhabitants nor cultivation, and where neither firewood nor forage is procurable: only water can be obtained. It is a *kōhistān* (mountainous tract) black and arid, but one thing may be said in its favour, and that is, that highway robbers are not found in that part. People proceeding from Tibbat to Yār-kand, and *vice versâ*, take provisions for forty days along with them, such as bread, clarified butter, and flesh. In that mountainous solitude there are black crows, so that whenever a horse, through fatigue, lies down and falls asleep, these crows come upon the animal and peck out its eyes. There are also wolves, that, if they chance to find a man alone, they will attack and rend him. These crows, too, if they perceive a man through fatigue lying down, several of them collect about him and blind him, and after that devour him. The route is very rough and difficult, and besides this, an exhalation arises from the ground like unto the *samūm* [*vul.* "simoon"]. If a person should venture to move along somewhat quickly, this noxious vapour or exhalation, reaches his brain, and he becomes affected after the manner of people on board ship with sea-sickness. At times people die from its effects. Some apply garlic to the head, some smell it, sometimes lime-juice is taken, and the person affected recovers; but a great number of horses perish of that *samūm*.[1]

"At times it so happens, that a merchant has ten loads of goods, and takes with him twenty horses by way of precaution, to convey the goods, and barley, bread, and other necessary stores. By chance, the whole of his horses perish on the road [from this malady ?]. The merchant then places his loads piled one over the other, in an open place, and covers them with mats or felts, and marks the place with a heap of stones. If the merchant is going from Tibbat to Yār-kand when such an accident befalls him, he comes on, with the persons along with him, to Yār-kand, purchases fresh horses, and goes back and fetches his property. If, on the other hand, he is going from Yār-kand to Tibbat when he has the misfortune to lose his horses, he considers which place is the nearest to him, and he proceeds thither, and brings on horses to carry the loads. If he should remain away for years, his goods sustain neither loss nor injury.

"In that mountainous part, there are cattle which they style *qūṭās* (*yāk*), the tail of which is bushy like that of the fox, but very long, which they fasten to the head of their *tūghs*[2] or standards, which

[1] This, of course, is *dam-gīrī* already described by Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

[2] The greater the number of *yāk* tails appended to the *tūgh* or standard, the greater the rank of the leader to whom it belonged. Thus we read in the old writers, in the wars between the Christians and the 'Uṡmānlī Turks, about Pashās of so many

hang down like the hair of women. There are a number of these animals met with on this route; and in Tibbat they are domesticated in great numbers, and draw loads like as do buffaloes. The flesh and milk of these animals are very delicious. The writer of this, the humble Mīr 'Abdu-l-karīm, Bukhārī, proceeded twice into Kash-mīr; once, when in his sixteenth year, from Hirāt, by Qandahār, Kābul, Peshāwar, and Muẓaffar-ābād, and returned by this very route through Tibbat. On the other occasion, he proceeded from the territory of Bukhārā [and] from Sīmī-pūlād [Semipolatinsk], which is the termination of the Masqō[1] [Moscow—Russian] territory in that direction, and by Īlah, Āq-sū, Kāshghar, Yār-kand, and Tibbat, to Kash-mīr, in 1224 H. (1809A.D.), and returned from thence by the same route. On the way through Tibbat a calf of the *qūṭās* was found asleep, and I killed it with a pistol; and the flesh was delicious. Those who go into Tibbat to purchase the *tibbat*, that is the *pashm* [wool] of the goats, which *pashm* is used in the manufacture of *shāls* in Kash-mīr, bring back zedoary (*curcuma zedoaria*) from thence along with them.

"The particulars respecting Tibbat are, that it is a very mountainous tract of country, lying between the countries of Khiṭā and Hindūstān. It is very long in extent from west to east, but much less in breadth, while its elevation is so great that its mountains throw their heads to the sky, and its routes are as hard as the hearts of misers. It is three months' journey [from the part of Tibbat referred to] to what they

tails; not that the Pashās were furnished with caudal appendages themselves, but their *tūghs* or standards.

In Rajab, 602 H., February, 1206 A.D., when the title of the Cingiz, or Great Khān was assigned to Timur-cī, at the *quriltāe*, or general assembly, held on that occasion, he set up a white *tūgh* or standard, consisting of nine degrees, or tails, indicated by as many tails of the ghajz gaū or *bos grunniens*; and he was seated on a high throne with a diadem on his head. Nine is the particularly venerated number among the Mughals, that being the number of the first nine chiefs of their *ī-māq* before the general massacre of the Mughal people by the Tattār *ī-māq*. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 881.

[1] The author in mentioning Rusīah and Rusīān (Russians) says, in one place in his work, respecting the distance intervening between their territory and Ūrganj and Bukhārā at that time—just eighty-five years ago—that, "the difficulties by the way, the scarcity of water, firewood, and provisions, and the cold and snow of winter, and excessive heat of summer, are such, that the Rusīān, in consequence, have no desire or inclination in that direction [in which he, like many others, was much mistaken], the Almighty God, having, of His Mercy, placed thereby between the people of Islām and the Yājūj-like Rusīān [referring to Yājūj Mājūj—Gog and Magog], an Alexandrian barrier, otherwise those parts possessed neither the power nor the energy to withstand the armies of those infidels."

At the period in question the Russians were otherwise engaged.

call Lāmbah [Lhasā ?], where is the temple or place of worship of the people of Qalmāq [Qal-Ī-māq], and an assemblage of Brahmāns [! Buddhists he must mean]. Some relate that the *ṯābūt* [bier or coffin] of Mānī, the Naqqāsh,[1] is preserved there. This territory of Lāmbah is in the possession of the Bādshāh of Khiṯā; and in it dwell people who are nomads, and live in *kẖargāhs* [felt tents] in the open country and uncultivated tracts, who possess a vast number of sheep and goats. Their goats are of large size, and their *pashm* abundant, like unto the sheep of this country [the country where he wrote]. In the month of *tīr* [June], the shepherds dig up *zedoary* from the ground in the mountains and wilds; and rhubarb, and *māmirān* [a root yielding a yellow dye] are also brought from that part. There is a class of people, who having clubbed together, go out into the different mountain districts of this territory with their sheep, and from every here and there buy up the *tibbat* or *pashm* of the goats, from half a *ḥuqqah* (a fardel or parcel) to ten *ḥuqqahs*, and purchase the male goats also that the natives have to sell. Having put the *pashm* into saddle-bags, they fasten them on to their sheep; and in this way, in the course of two months, collecting *pashm* from different places, they manage to load a thousand sheep or more."

[1] The name of a celebrated painter who lived in the time of Ard-shīr, but some say, and more correctly so, in the time of Bahrām Shāh, ruler of Irān Zamīn, and who appeared in the world after the time of our Saviour upon earth, and gave himself out to be an apostle, upon which Hurmūz Shāh, son of Bahrām, put him to death.

Another account is, that Mānī appeared in the world in the middle of the third century, and gave out that he was the paraclete or comforter promised by our Lord Jesus Christ, and soon founded a numerous sect. The ruler of Irān Zamīn ordered him to be seized, upon which he fled into the country of the Turks (which includes Mughals and Tattārs). His religion was a mixture of Magian, Hindū, and Christian tenets; and among his followers were even Christian patriarchs and bishops. His sect were, from his name, known in Europe as Manicheans.

Two copper-plate inscriptions of Kulastambha-dēva, an Eastern Cālukya King.—By Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., *Deputy Magistrate.*[1]

[Read February 1891.]

These copper-plates were secured by me from the Rāghava Dāsa Maṭh in the Town of Purī, Orissa. They have been kept in the Maṭh as sanads of the Maṭh itself, but they do not appear to have any connection with it.

When I got them, the plates were very dirty, and the inscriptions hardly legible. I cleansed them by rubbing with tamarind and hot water, and then rubbed afresh with chalk. The letters can now be distinctly seen.

One plate is broader and more complete; it will be called A. The other plate is longer and will be called B. Plate A is $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$. It is covered with writing on both sides without any margin. On the front face are 22 lines; on the back 21. The letters are on an average $\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$. Plate B is $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$. Like plate A, it is closely written on both sides up to the edge, with 19 lines on the obverse side and 18 on the reverse. The letters are $\frac{3}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$.

From the middle of the top of both the plates rises a circular piece. The one in plate A contains on its face a half moon, below which is a boar (or a bull) sitting above a line, which with another line encloses the words श्रीमां कुलस्तम्भदेव (*Çrīmāṁ Kulastambha-dēva*). Below the foot line are some letters not clearly traceable. The piece in B has a boar at the foot standing, above which are nearly the same words श्रीमां रणस्तम्भदेव. At the top is a half-moon. These circular pieces were evidently the seals of the granting king.

The letters look like the 10th century Kuṭila inscription given in Prinsep's work. The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has

[1] [The publication of this and the following paper has been greatly delayed, owing to difficulties experienced by the author in securing an accurate copy of the extremely incorrect Sanskrit of the plates. The text is that given by the author, the plates not being available for comparison. Ed.]

been badly transcribed. Orthography and grammar do not appear to have been much attended to. The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision.

The inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself. They begin with an invocation to Çiva; then follow the praises of Kulastambha-dēva, born by a boon from the goddess Stambhēçvarī, and his son or governor (Kōdālō ?) Kacha Dēva. Then come the grants. In B, the village Pajār in Ulōkhaṇḍ Sub-Division was bestowed on Bhaṭaputra Vēluka, a Brāhman. In A, the village Kāṇkanira in the same Sub-Division was bestowed on Bhāṭaputra Madhusōdana son of Bhaṭa Vēlu, probably the aforesaid Vēlu (-ka), a Brāhman of the Vaccha Gōtra, Yaçvāriçaya Pravara of the Yajurvēda. The grants are followed by the usual çlōkas of the Mahābhārata regarding the puṇya of land gifts and the sin of resuming them.

Kulastambha-dēva is mentioned as having been born in the Çūlkī Kula (lines 3–4), which cannot but be the Cālukya line. The possession of the plates by an Oṛissa Maṭh, the Telugite sort of name, Bhaṭa Vēlu (alias Vēluka), the word Kaliṇga (lines 21–22), coupled with the absence of any dates or any year of reign (so common in other dynasties) point to the Eastern Cālukya dynasty. The insignia of the boar on the seals are also worth noticing. The Eastern Cālukya dynasty ruled from about 610 A. D. to 1084 A. D., or for four centuries and a half ([1]). The letters are certainly not later than the 11th century. Kulastambha-dēva must therefore be placed before the 11th century A. D.

Beyond this there are no certain data to go on. If Bhaṭa Vēlu be believed to be identical with Vēluka, a period of some 12 or 15 years might be supposed to have elapsed between the two grants—slight differences in the letters (such as न, र) corroborate this difference of time. Then Kulastambha-dēva could not have reigned less than 15 or 20 years. Is Kulastambha a surname of Guṇāṇka Vijayāditya III ([2]) who reigned 40 or 44 years, and who, according to Sir W. Elliott, conquered Kaliṇga? Guṇāṇka Vijayāditya III (Vijayāditya II of Elliott's list) began to reign in the middle of the ninth century, A. D., a date consistent with the old form of the Kuṭila characters in the inscriptions. Kulastambha-dēva might also be identified with Kulōttuṇga Ghōḍa-dēva, the celebrated monarch of the Cōlas, who flourished towards the close of the eleventh century A. D.

Through the kindness of the owner, I send one of the plates to the Society for comparison.

[1] Sewell's sketch of the Dynasties of S. India, pp. 13–15.

[2] Do., p. 12.

PLATE A.

Obverse.

९ स्वस्ति जयति सुरासुरविद्वद्विद्य(त्) विरमकुटघृष्ट
चरणाम्बुजशशिमणमयुखभाशितपिङ्गजटाभा
रभासूरो गिरिशः स्तम्भेश्वरिलब्धवरप्रसादे शू
ल्कीकुलेभू(त्)क्षितिप्रक्षाताराः श्रीमा (ं) कुलस्तम्भदेव प्र
तीतः स्फुरत्राता ययोदय तापितारी भास्वविचित्ररुचिरो
ज्वल चारु शा (शो ?) भौरुचौ सदाशिवपुरोगम नियमागो ।
दवालैयैर्न्निजयशोधरधवलै रणे नित्यमात्मनस्तदि
व मुद्गमितोरुकिर्त्ती तस्यात्मजोभू(त्) जगदेकविरः ॥ ज
यशो (शी ?) ल सत्खड्गनिपातभिताः समन्ततो यान्ति रणे द्वि
शन्तयो राजचकतिलकः सुगुणाङ्गि यातौद कामिनि
मुख मनोहरकर्णपुरेः शङ्कोचिताहितवधूवदनार
विन्दै देशान्चकार भिदुरै सुशुभौ शसिव तस्माद्वलो
त्सारित वौ (वै) रिवारितः पग(? रा) क्रमाक्रान्त समस्तदिकूटः दान
प्र(व)तार्दकर प्रतीतिमां दिग्वारनेन्द्रप्रतिमोभवसेतुः । कोदा
लो कच्छदेव द्विजगुरुचरणाराधनाशक्तचेता श्रीमां दुर्व्वारवौ (? वै)
रिप्रवरकरिघटा कुम्भकुटाकवारः दातासत्वैकनिष्ठो जग
त प्रीथुसम य पार्थिवेशु प्रतितः । (क?)च्छेप्यमलान खड्ग प्र
कटभूजवला त्रासिताः शे(ष)शत्रु सकल गोन्द्रमौविथः प्रम
माहेश्वरः समुद्गमिताशेष शत्रु माहाराज श्री र (? कु) लस्तम्भ
देवः शङ्खजोटकावलयः पर (? री) क्रमतः य (त्) यन्मेमण्डलेस्मि(न्)
भावीतः राजन्(नि?)करापुत्रा माहासामन्त नगरनानपि यथा का
ल (? लि) ङ्गङ्गणे विशयपतिः निधिकारिणः (*) जनपद समादिस

(*) Plate B differs from this place as follows :—
रीण श्वस करुण कलय यथाद्रिं विधसतिः कुशल
यथादिसति विदितमस्तु भवतां गो उलोखण्ड
सम्बन्धः पजार ग्राम सयरि करतः सो देश स
र्व्वबाधा विवर्जित चतुश्रय सिमा लय परीक
रत पर्यन्तः । कर स्तरु प्र १०(?) आविद्धा
विनिर्गत भटपुत्र वेलुकस्य आ ण

PLATE A.

Reverse.

ति विदितमस्तु भवता (') गो उला (? लो) खण्ड सम्बन्धः काङ्कनिर
ग्राम सजलस्थलशयद्वारारान्यः चतुसिमाप्रयन्तः न केचीत
वाधाकरणे कृत्यः प्रतिपादितोस्माभीर्यतः भाटपुत्र व
च्छपालकस्य दत ताम्रसासनः वच्छगोत्रः यश्वारिश्र
यप्रवरः यजुर्व्वेदि वरणाः भाटपुत्र मधुसोदनः तस्य
पिता भट वेलुः अतिधाविर्गतः सलिलधारापुरसरेन
चन्द्रार्कसमकालमकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादिनः यस्ययस्य य
दा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलमाभूदफलशङ्का य प्रदता
नुपालनः खदता प्रदतम्बा जो हरेत वसुंधराः सविष्ठा
यां कृमि भूत्वाः पितृभी सह पच्यते ग्रष्ठीवरिसहस्रा
नि सर्गमोदेती भूमिदः अच्छेत्ता अब्रह्मन्या च द्वाव नर्कं व्र
जेतः छिर्नमेकं गवामेकं भूमिमेकर्ङ्कुलं हरन्वक्र माया
तियावताभूतिसंश्रवः हरति हारयति भूमिं मन्दवुधिस्त
मादृत सवडो वारुणपासे तर्य्य (ग्) जोनिस्च गक्कृति भुमो
द प्रतिगेङ्गनातिः तस्य भूमि प्रदखीण उभवतो पु
न्यकर्मानिः मितो सर्गगामिनः इति कमलदला
म्बुविन्दु लौले श्रीमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य जि(वि)तं च सत
कीमिदमुदाहि(त)वुधा नहि पुरुसेषु किञ्च(त्ति) यो विलो
प्याः लिखितमिदं पद कायस्थ माहासान्धिविग्रहि
केन उ(त्)कीर्णञ्च कासाराकुलपुत्रकनागय जाकेन
उष्णाच्चरमधिता(?का) च्चराम्बा यदुपरिलिच्चित च + प्रम

Translation.

Om! Be it good! Blessed be the god Girīça whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the crowns of the most learned among the Dēvas and Asuras, and whose dark plaited hairs are illuminated by the rays of the moon-gem. By the grace of the boon got from the goddess Stambhēçvarī, appeared, in the Çūlkī kula, king Kulastambha-dēva, celebrated (?) in the world, protector of the timid, whose rise (in the line) adorned by their various bright variegated auspicious tastes, and adhering (strictly) to the ways (of the Çāstras) laid down by the gods headed by Sadāçiva, puts the enemies to fear. In the wars whitened by (*i. e.*, illuminated by) his fame-protecting bravery, great

renown is always gained by him, as if it is an attribute of his own. To him was born a son, a hero matchless in the world. Afraid of his ever-victorious good sword, the enemies fly on all sides in the battle; head of all kings, having subdued and extirpated the enemies by his forces (thus) beautifying the faces of his ladies with (golden) earrings won by this bravery, and rendering pale (with grief and fear) the lily faces of the ladies of the enemies, he pierced through their countries and shone like the moon. His power spreading on all sides, his palms appearing as if always wet by his numerous gifts, like the giant elephant watching in a cardinal point, he looks like a bridge over this world-ocean. Kōdālō (?) Kaccha-dēva is attentive in worshipping the feet of Gurus and Brāhmaṇas, is full of Çrī (grace), is a hero in piercing the necks of the big elephants of his difficultly subduable enemies. Liberal, powerful, on this earth and in the midst of kings he resembles Pṛthu. Though of the sea-coast, still the bright glittering sword of his arms terrified all sorts of foes....(Not intelligible 8 letters). The great devotee of Çiva whose enemies have all been subdued, Mahārāja Çrī Kulastambha-dēva surrounded by a round of Çaṇkha-Jōṭaka (?) (thus proclaimeth):—In my Divisions, oh ye future princes, Mahāsāmantas (chief officers) of towns such as those in Kaliṇga, managers, treasurers and others! What is ordered, hear ye all! In the Ulōkhaṇḍ sub-division the village Kāṇkanira with (all rights of) land, water and forest, and (with all the lands within) its four boundaries, having taken it away from your jurisdiction, is thus granted by us—the copper-plate grant of Bhāṭaputra Vacchapālak, granted to Bhāṭaputra Madhusōdan son of Bhaṭa Vēlu of Vacchagōtra, Yaçvāriçaya Pravara, and of Yajurvēdi Varaṇa, granted rent-free as long as the sun and moon with all rights of land and water. (Here follow ten lines quoting Mahābhārata about the efficacy of gifts and the sin of resumption.) Considering the riches and the life of man to be as fleeting as the water-drop on a lotus-leaf, and thinking over the aforesaid illustrations, persons ought not to take away the fame of others. This is written and inscribed by the Kāyastha Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika Kanānaya Jāka son in the Kāsārā Kula. Pray excuse any letter found wanting or written in excess in the above.

THE PART DIFFERING IN PLATE B.

Translation.

:—In Ulōkhaṇḍ sub-division the village Pajār with its rent settled, freed from all liabilities, with the four boundaries determined, with Karaba tree worth (or rent ?) ten pals granted to Bhaṭaputra Vēluka. (Then come five lines from Mahābhārata.)

Two copper-plate inscriptions of the King Nṛsiṁha-dēva IV of Orissa.—*By* Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., *Deputy Magistrate.*[1]

[Read February 1891.]

These two inscriptions have been found by me in Purī. One, I call, A, the other B. A was found in the Maṭh Tirmāli, a Maṭh opposite the northern gate of the Temple of Jagannāth. B was found in the Maṭh Çaṇkarānanda, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannāth temple and close to the old palace of the Purī Rājās. The present mahants of these Maṭhs are unable to explain how these plates came to their possession. On enquiry I find that the Maṭhs hold land near the villages granted in these inscriptions, and I presume the plates passed to their hands on the transfer of these lands.

The mediæval history of Orissa is dark. The Mādalā Pāñji or the chronicle of the Jagannāth Temple is almost the only source; but unless corroborated, its statements cannot be fully relied upon. The inscriptions now edited furnish valuable informations in the shape of the names of the kings, their years of reign, and their relationships. They refer to the kings of the second dynasty known as Gaṅgavaṃśa.

A consists of seven copper-plates, nearly uniform in size (1′—$1\frac{3}{4}$″ × 10″ × $\frac{1}{12}$″). B consisted of seven plates, but the 5th plate is missing (1′—$1\frac{1}{4}$″ × 11″ × $\frac{1}{8}$″) All the thirteen plates have holes in the middle of the left side, through which a metal ring must have passed to keep the series together like a book. The rings are not forthcoming. The A plates are in a better state of preservation than B, the last plate of which is seriously damaged in three places.

With the exception of the first and last plates, the other plates of A and B are covered with writing on both sides, and contain 24 lines on each side. These lines occupy in A 1′—$\frac{1}{2}$″ × 9″, thus leaving a margin of $1\frac{3}{4}$″ by 1″. Near the holes the lines are smaller—eight lines with 10″ × 3″. The B plates being larger, the lines are longer.

[1] [See note 1 on p. 123. Ed.]

The letters are usually $\frac{1}{4}''$ by $\frac{1}{4}''$. In B, they are not so good as in A, and are often not legible, having been effaced at some places, and at others having a black rust in the crevices, as hard as iron. The letters are Sanskrit and belong to an intermediate class between the present Devanāgarī characters and the 10th century Kuṭila characters.

The inscriptions consist of

(1) The invocation.
(2) The mythological introduction.
(3) The genealogy of the kings and their praises.
(4) The date of the grant, the name and boundaries of the village, and the name of the donee.
(5) The conclusion.

Parts 1, 2, 3 and 5 are nearly the same in A and B; B containing the fuller inscription. Part 4 is naturally different in each.

The language is in verse, intermixed at one place in (2) with prose. Part 4 is entirely in prose and contains many Uriyā words. Mistakes in spelling occur every now and then; letters and even words are omitted; rules of grammar are often violated, and the versification is not always rhythmical. The composition has all the faults of mediæval Sanskrit poetry. The epithets are hyperbolical, the analogies and similes are remote and far-fetched, and the narration very prolix.

The inscription begins with a salutation to Çiva (omitted in B). Then follows a blessing by the god Viṣṇu. From the navel of Viṣṇu sprung Brahmā, who created Atri the father of Candra or the moon. Several lines sing his praises, as this dynasty claims to have sprung from the moon. Then the poet exclaims,—"who can sing the exploits of the moon-descended kings" (A I, lines 14-15, B I, line 12). "Therefore I write the names only of the first kings" (A I, line 17, B I, line 14). Here follows a list of the mythological kings :—

Moon (चन्द्र).
|
Budha (बुध).
|
Anala (अनल).
|
Purūravaḥ (पुरूरवः).
|
Vāyu (वायु).
|
Nahuṣa (नहुषः).
|
Yayāti (ययाति).
|
Turvasu (तुर्वसु).

Turvasu
|
Gāṇgēya (गाङ्गेय).
|
Virōcana (विरोचन).
|
Saṁvēdya (संवेद्य).
|
Bhāsvāna (भास्वान).
|
Dattasēna (दत्तसेन .
|
Saumya (सौम्य).
|
Açvadatta (अश्वदत्त).

Açvadatta
|
Saurāṇga (सौरांग).
|
Citrāṇgada (चित्रांगद).
|
Çiradhvaja (शिरध्वज).
|
Mēdhāvī (मेधावी).
|
Parīkṣita (परीक्षित).
|
Jayasēna (जयसेन).

Jayasēna
|
Vijayasēna (विजयसेन).
|
Vṛṣadhvaja (वृषध्वज).
|
Çakti (शक्ति).
|
Pragalbha (प्रगल्भ).
|
Kōlāhala (कोलाहल), or
Ananta Varmmā (अनन्तवर्मा)

A I lines 17—22, B I lines 14—19.

The mythological list ends with,—"In that line many more kings successively arose," (A II. 1, B I. 22). So far about the Paurāṇik origin of the dynasty.

Then comes the strictly historical list. After mentioning that five Kāmārṇavas had preceded (A II. 6, B II. 1) it begins with,—"In that (moon-line) arose the king Kāmārṇava, founder of the dynasty." (A II. 9, B II. 4). The inscriptions next go on giving the names of the successive kings, the names of their wives, the years of their reigns, all intermixed with profuse and hyperbolical epithets. The inscriptions thus enable us to map out nearly the entire period of Gaṇgavaṁça dynasty, a period of more than 290 years. Seventeen kings are named, or from Cōḍagaṇga 14 kings. The following will show the details :—

1. Kāmārṇava (कामार्णव)
(A. II. 9, B II. 4).
|
2. Vajrahasta (वज्रहस्त) = Naṇgamā (नंगमा)
(A. II. 12, B. II. 6.) (A. II. 17, B. II. 10).
|
3. Rājarāja (राजराज) = Rājasundarī (राजसुन्दरी)
(A. II. 18, B. II. 11). (A. II. 20, B. II. 13).
|
4. Cōḍagaṇga (चोडगङ्ग).

Cōḍagaṇga is one of the most important names in Orissa history. According to the Mādalā Pāñji, he conquered Orissa and overthrew the Kēçarī or lion dynasty. This conquest is corroborated by the inscriptions which speak of his overpowering the Utkala king (A II. 35, B. II. 26). Cōḍagaṇga of the present inscriptions is evidently the same Cōḍagaṇga of Sewell's three copper plates, whose *abhiṣēka* took place in

saka 999 or 1078 A. D.[1] The names of the preceding three ancestors exactly agree in both.[2] Cōḍagaṇga married several wives and had several sons, who became kings of Orissa one after the other.

4. Cōḍagaṇga (A. II. 21, B. II. 4) reigned seventy years. = Kasturikāmōdinī (कस्तुरिकामोदिनी) (A. II. 47-8, B. II. 42).

5. Kāmārṇava I. (कामार्णव) (A. III. 1-2. B. II. 43-4) reigned 10 years. = Indirā (इन्दिरा) (A. III. 16, B. III. 12).

6. Rāghava (राघव) (A. III. 20, B. III. 15) 15 years. = Candralēkhá (चन्द्रलेखा) (A. III. 33, B. III. 26-7).

7. Rāja-rāja I. (राजराज) (A. III. 34, B. III. 27) 25 years.

8. Anīyaṇga-bhīma (अनीयंगभीम)[3] (A. III. 44, B. III. 41) 10 years.

The first three sons of Cōḍagaṇga apparently died childless. But from the time of Anīyaṇga-bhīma Dēva, the succession was lineal from father to son, without any break.

8. Anīyaṇga-bhīma-dēva (A. III. 44, B. III. 41) 10 years. = Bāghalla-dēvī (बाघल्ल-देवी) (A. IV. 6, B. III. 48).

9. Rāja-rāja II. (राजराज) (A. IV. 8, B. IV. 1-2) 17 years. = Guṇa or Sadguṇa (गुण or सद्गुण-देवी) (A. IV. 12, B. IV. 10).

[1] Sewell's Archæological Survey of S. India, Vol. II, pp. 33-4. For the readings of Mr. Sewell's copper-plates, see the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-176, certain verses of the present plates (A II. 12-17) slightly reversed, agree word for word with lines 77-84 (pp. 168-9) of Mr. Fleet's reading of the second inscription.

[2] Through his mother, Cōḍagaṇga was closely related to the Cōla royal family. His mother, Rājasundarī was the daughter of Rājendra Cōla (see I. Antiq. Vol. XVIII, p. 163, 28-9, p. 169, 85-6, and p. 174, 19-20).

[3] Anīyaṇga-bhīma-dēva is also shortened to Anaṇga-bhīma in one passage A IV. 3, B III. 47.

10. Anaṇga-bhīma (अनंगभीम) = Kastūrā (कस्तूरा)
(A. IV. 13, B. IV. 11) (A. IV. 22, B. IV. 26).
33 years.

11. Nṛ-siṁha-dēva I. (नृसिंह-देव) = Sītā (सीता)
(A. IV. 24, B. IV. 27-8) (A. IV. 33, B. IV. 41)
33 years. daughter of a Mālava king.

12. Vīra-bhānu-dēva I. (वीरभानु-देव) = Jākalla-dēvī (जाकल्ल-देवी)
(A. IV. 33. B. IV. 14) (A. IV. 37, B. IV. 46).
17 years.

13. Nara-siṁha-dēva II. = Cōḍa-dēvī (चोड-देवी)
(नरसिंह-देव) (A. IV. 45, B. IV. 47).
(A. IV. 41, B. IV. 47)
34 years.

14. Vīra-bhānu-dēva II. (वीरभानु-देव) = Lakṣmī (लक्ष्मी)
(A. V. 5), 24 years. (A. V. 10).

15. Nṛ-siṁha-dēva III. (नृसिंह-देव) = Kāmala-dēvī (कामल-देवी)
(A. V. 12). 24 years. (A. V. 21-2)

16. Bhānu-dēva IV. (भानु-देव) = Hīrā-dēvī (हीरा-देवी)
(A. V. 22), 26 years. of Cālukya Kula
(A. V. 30-1).

17. Nara-siṁha-dēva IV. (नरसिंह-देव) (A. V. 33)
in whose reign the grants were made, A in 8th aṇka (6th year), B. in 22nd aṇka (18th year)[1].

The value of these inscriptions is very much enhanced by the mention of dates. A furnishes two dates in the Çaka era; B two in Çaka era, and two without any era, but which can be calculated with the help of Prof. Jacobi's tables.

In A, the grant was made on *Çaka-nṛpatēratītēṣu pañcādhikēṣu trayōdaça-çata-saṁvachcharēṣu ... Çrīmān Nṛsiṁha-dēva nṛpatēḥ svarājyasya aṣṭāṇkē abhilikhyamānē Caitrē māsi çuklē pakṣē trayō-dasyāṁ* (sic) *tithau ravi-vārē*, or on Sunday, 13th tithi of the bright half of Caitra in the year Çaka 1305 = 6th March 1384 A. D. (O. S.), which was a Sunday.

[1] For *aṇkas*, see my article on the Uriyā inscriptions of Jagannāth temple. J. A. S. B., Pt. I, Vol. LXII (1893), p. 89.

The *aṇkas* begin on the Suniyā day, which generally falls in the month of Bhādra being Siṁha çukla dvādaçī.

In B, the Grant was made on *Çaka-nṛpatēr atītēṣu ṣōḍaçādhikēṣu trayōdaça-çata-saṁvatsarēṣu ..... Nrasiṁha-dēva-nṛpatiḥ (? ēḥ) svarājyasya dvāviṁçatyaṅkē abhilikhyamānē vichā çukla ēkādaçyāṁ maṅgalavārē* or on Tuesday 11th tithi of the bright half of the vichā month in the Çaka year 1316 = 23rd Nov. 1395 (O. S.) which happened to be a Tuesday. The Çaka year seems to be an expired year.

In A, Kāmārṇava II, the eldest son of Cōḍagaṅga, ascended the throne on *vēdartu-vyōma-candra-pramita-çaka-samāḥ* or 1064 Çaka = 1142 A. D. In B, *vēdartu* is changed to *dēvartu* which would make the date of accession 1033 Saka or thirty-one years earlier. The later date is possible and more consistent with the date of Cōḍgaṅga's abhiṣēka as given in Sewell's plates (1078 A. D.) considering that he reigned seventy years. Furthermore according to Sewell's plates, Cōḍagaṅga was reigning in 1040 and 1057 Çaka—facts which cannot be explained if the earlier date (1033) be accepted [1].

Two other tithis are incidentally mentioned in the B plate No. VI.

1. At camp Dēvakūṭa on Wednesday the 7th tithi of the dark half, 2nd Vichā of 23rd aṅka = 22nd Nov. 1396 A. D. (O. S.) (lines 25–6).

2. At camp Nārāyaṇapura on Saturday 11th tithi of the dark half, Mīna Saṅkrānti = 24th February 1397 A. D. (O. S.) (lines 29–30).

With these dates and years of reign, the following table can now be constructed :—

Serial No.	Names of the kings of Orissa.	Years of reign.	Ref. to the plates.	Remarks.
1.	Cōḍagaṅga	70	A II. 45-6, B II. 40.	Began to reign in 1142 A. D.
2.	Kāmārṇava I.	10	A III. 15, B III. 11.	
3.	Rāghava	15	A III. 32, B III. 26.	
4.	Rāja-rāja I.	25	A III 39-40, B III. 36.	
5.	Anīyaṅga-bhīma-dēva ...	10	A IV. 2, B III. 46.	
6.	Rāja-rāja II.	17	„ „ „ B IV. 2.	
7.	Anaṅga-bhīma-dēva ...	33	A IV. 21, B IV. 25.	
8.	Nṛ-siṁha-dēva I.	33	A IV. 30, B IV. 36.	
9.	Vīra-bhānu-dēva I.	17	A IV. 43, „ „ „	
10.	Nara-siṁha-dēva II.	34	A V. 2, „ „ „	
11.	Vīra-bhānu-dēva II. ...	24	A V. 19, „ „ „	
12.	Nṛ-siṁha-dēva III.	24	A V. 25-6, „ „ „	
13.	Bhānu-dēva III.	26	A V. 37, „ „ „	
14.	Nṛ-siṁha-dēva IV.	...	... ...	Was reigning in 1397 A. D.

[1] I would point out, however, that the total of reigns (268) plus six (the years as calculated from the aṅka in A), if added to 1064, amounts to 1338, and thus exceeds 1305 Çaka, the date given in the A. grant. There seem to be mistakes in the years of reign, otherwise this discrepancy is inexplicable. [Cf. also Prinsep's Useful Tables, Ed. Thomas, No. xxiv. Ed.]

Both the grants were made at Vārāṇasi Kaṭak (Camp Vārāṇasi) or the present town of Cuttack. They were made in the presence of the following officers, respectively :—

In A.—

Door-examiner	...	Gaḍeçvar Jēnā.
Commander-in-Chief	...	Lāṇḍu-Sani Miçra.
Examiner of Accounts		Māhāpātra Narēndra-dēva Chakravartī.
Officer	...	Narahari Dāsa Praharāja (the donee).
,,	...	Çrīpati Maṇgalarāja.
Writer of accounts	...	Svapnēçvara Mahāsēnāpati.
,, ,,	...	Baidī Mahā-sēnāpatī.

In B.—

Officer	...	Mahāpātra Kṛṣṇānandya.
,,	...	Do. Lāṇḍu Ratha.
,,	...	Do. Gopīnātha.
,,	...	Pātra Bhuvanānanda.
,,	...	Siddhēçvara Jēnā.
Door-examiner	...	Trivikrama.
Writer of accounts	...	Viçvanātha Māhā-sēnāpati.

The subject matter of the B grant were subsequently considered and confirmed in the camps Dēvakūṭa and Nārāyaṇapura, where the following officers were present :—

At Dēvakūṭa :—

Priest	...	Pātra Māhā-muni.
Door-examiner	...	Trivikrama.
Commander-in-Chief	...	Sōmanātha Vāhinīpati.
Treasurer	...	Narahari.
Keeper of Accounts	...	Viçvanāth Māhāsēnāpati.

At Nārāyaṇapura :—

Commander-in-Chief	...	Somanātha Vāhinīpati.
Officer	...	Bhuvaneçvara.
,,	...	Lakṣmaṇānanda.
Treasurer	...	Narahari
Door-keeper	...	Trivrikrama.
Examiner of Accounts		Gatēçvara Dāsa Çrī-candana.

The villages were bestowed on the Brāhmaṇas for the increase of the king's life, health, prosperity and empire (*Svāyurārōgyaiçvarya-sāmrājya-samṛddhaye*). In A, the village Kiṁnari-grāma was bestowed on Mahāpātra Narahari Dāsa. This village was in the Uttarakhaṇḍa Kalabhō (Daṇḍapāt) and was worth 900 māḍhas of gold. At the time of the grant its name was changed to Vijaya-narasiṁhapura-çāsana (from the name of the king). As a part of the grant was the home-

stead land with a house, of a Brāhmaṇa named Svapnēçvara. He was of Kauṇḍinya Gōtra and a reader of the Kanva Çākhā of the Yajur-vēda. His land was in area, four bāṭīs or 80 acres.

In describing the boundaries, several villages are named, two of which—Bhākharsāhī and Makuluṇḍā still exist within the Purī District. The approximate position of the villages Kiṁnari alias Vijaya-narasiṁhapura, would be long. 86° 5′ 30″ by lat. 20° 22′ 30″.

In B, the villages, Sāisō and Rāḍaso-o were granted to a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvaratha Ācārya of Ātrēyasa gōtra and reader in the Kānva Çākhā of the Yajur-vēda. They appear to have been granted to him as the sēvak in the temple of Ugrēçvara-dēva. In area the lands were 30 bāṭīs, or 600 acres, and priced at 449 māḍhas. The boundary villages still exist, and with their help, the position of the villages may be approximately put at 85° 56′ 45″ long. by 20° 10′ 27″ lat., on the left side of the river Bhārgavī and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhiā. The villages were in Kōṣhṭadēsa (Daṇḍapāt), Ōḍamōlō (Subdivision), Madanakhaṇḍa Viṣaya (now *bisi*).

The inscriptions were inscribed by Durgādāsa and Gurudāsa Sēnāpati respectively. They close with the usual extracts from the Smṛtis as to the benefits of gifts, and the sins of resumption.

Before concluding, I would draw attention to two passages. The first passage is the one beginning with *pādau yasya dharāntarīkṣa... .....to...prāpya pramōdānvitā.* (A. II. 38-43, B. II. 28-33).

Translation :—" What king can be named that could erect such a temple to god Puruṣōttama—a temple, whose base is the whole earth, whose navel the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and the moon, and whose head the heaven. Left undone by the first kings, Gaṇgēçvara built it. This ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmī, not so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Viṣṇu lodged; but because he got there full adoration. The god Puruṣōttama, still feeling apprehensive, was glad to get this new home; and Lakṣmī, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's home.

The temple raised by Gaṇgēçvara must have been a celebrated temple to deserve such specific notice in the inscription. Of Puruṣōttama, what temple can it be but the temple of Jagannāth? The inscription then differs from the Mādalā Pāñji which ascribes the erection of the temple to Anaṇga-bhīma-dēva, and which gives several specific details. Is this difference due to the fact that the main temple was built by Cōḍagaṇga, but that the side temples, the walls, &c., and the thorough systematisation of the ceremonies and sebās were made in the time of Anaṇga-bhīma-dēva, and that in course of time, the former circumstance was lost sight of and the temple passed as Anaṇga-bhīma's?

The second passage worth noticing is *Rājñō yasya Gayāsadīna* .....to...*sandhyānurāgachalāt* (A. V. 6-8).

Translation:—"The king's (Bhānudēva II's) war with Ghayāṣu-d-dīn beginning, the blood flowing from the necks of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that still shines in the sky in the disguise of sunset glow."

Ghayāṣu-d-dīn is evidently a Muhammadan name.—The war spoken of is thus probably the incursion of Ulagh Khān, in 1323, A. D., after his capture of Warangal. Ẓiyāu-d-dīn Barnī in his Tārikh Fīrōzshāhī thus speaks:—

"The prince (Ulagh Khān) then marched towards Jājnagar and there took 40 elephants, with which he returned to Tilaŋg."[1]

Jājnagar was the name by which Orissa was known to the early Muhammadan historians.

Lastly, the grant portions (4) in both the inscriptions are, curiously enough, mostly in Uriyā. This is the earliest authentic writing in which Uriyā words have been found. The language shows that in words and syntax the old Uriyā of five hundred years ago, was nearly the same as now.

The inscriptions are too long, and the descriptions too verbose and hyperbolical to re-pay the labor of an English translation. The material portions have been noticed in this sketch.

Plate A, No. I.

ॐ नमः शिवाय[2]। लक्ष्मीपादसरोरुहद्वयमदः श्रेयांसि दासीष्ट वः प्रस्फुर्ज
न्नखरश्मिकेशरशतं भास्वन्नखालीदलं। विस्पष्टं प्रतिबिम्बितः प्रणमनैः क्रीड़ा
पराधोद्भवैः कृष्णो यन्नखदीप्तिषु भ्रमरतां धत्ते स लक्ष्मीप्रियः। क्षीरार्ब्धेमथितात्
सुरासुरगणैः प्रादुर्भवन्ती रमा शम्भुब्रह्मपुरन्दरप्रभृतिषु प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिष्वपि पश्य
न्त्यम्बुजनाभमीशमवृणोल्लोकत्रयाह्लादिनं भृङ्गाली सहकारमेति हि वने फुल्लान्य
शाखिन्यपि ॥ तन्नाभीसरसीरुहोद्भवविधेरत्रिर्बभूवामृतश्चन्द्रश्चन्द्रिकया प्रकाशित-
जग
त् संभूतवान् नेत्रयोः। त्रैलोक्यग्रसनैकदक्षतिमिरग्रासित्वसाम्येपि यो लक्ष्मव्याजि
दधत्त
न :प्रतिवपुः सूर्य्याधिको निर्म्मलः ॥ श्रीदेवीसोदरत्वादमृतसखतया कल्पवृक्षानु
जत्वाल्लोकानन्दं विधाता तिमिरविषहरः सर्व्वदैवोपभोग्यः। तत्त

1 Elliott's H. of M. India, Vol. III, p. 234.
2 Omitted in B.

त्संसर्गलाभात्तदधिगतमलं स्वाङ्गनिष्ठं दधानः स्वस्यैतन्निर्मलत्वं
जगति विजयते दर्शयन्नूनमिन्दुः । वंशे तस्य नरेश्वराः समभव
न् येषां गुणा वन्दिताः प्रोत्फुल्ला इव तत्पुराणपथगास्तत्रापि नो स
म्मिताः । तत्तत्काव्यपथं श्रितास्त्रिभुवने मूर्त्तिं दधाना इव भ्राम्यन्ती
व सुचेतनाः श्रुति गृहे विश्रम्य विश्रम्य च ॥ प्रत्येकं शशिवंशभूपति-
भुजव्यापारसंकीर्त्तनं कर्त्तुं कः क्षमते क्षितौ वङ्गमुखो यत्रानुनस्यै-
वहि । दोर्दण्डार्जितकीर्त्तिवर्णनकथा तद्धारतं प्रामवत्तस्मादाङ्ग-
यमाचमाद्यन्नृपतिश्रेणी क्रमाल्लिख्यते ॥ २ ॥ तथाहि चन्द्रः चन्द्रात् बुधः बुधादनलः
अनलात् पु
रूरवाः पुरूरवसो वायुः वायोः नहुषः नहुषात् ययातिः ययातेस्तुर्वसुः ततो
गाङ्गेयः ततो विरोचनः ततः संवेद्यः ततो भास्वान् ततो दत्तसेनः ततः सौम्यः
ततो अ
श्वदत्तः ततः सौराङ्गः ततश्चाङ्गदः ततः शिरध्वजः ततो मेधावी ततः परीक्षि
तः ततो जयसेनः ततो विजयसेनः ततो वृषध्वजः ततः शक्तिः ततः प्रगल्भः ततः को
लाहलः सरवानन्तवर्म्माभवत् ॥ घनकनकसमृद्धोगङ्गवाड़िप्रसिद्धः सकल
विषयभूतः स्वर्ग्यवर्गोपभोग्यः । तदधिपतिरथाद्यानन्तवर्म्मान्तपेन्द्रः समभवदिति
रूढा गङ्गनाम्ना तदाद्याः ॥ कोलाहलः समरमूर्द्धि ततो नृपाणां भूतो यतः सवपुरं

Plate II, obverse.

च तदीयमत्र । कोलाहलाङ्कयमभूत् सुरसद्मतुल्यं यस्मिन्क्रमैर्नृपतिभिर्वङ्गभि
र्वभूवे । राज्यश्रीभृति नारसिंहनृपते ज्येष्ठे किमत्रास्महे दोर्दण्डार्ज्जितभूतलोच्चित
रमाकण्ठग्रहानन्दिनः । किंचास्माकमियं भुजासिलतिका संवेष्टतां वैरिणां क
ण्ठारण्यमियं च कीर्त्तिलतिकाद्या नः समारोहतु । भ्राम्यद्भिर्विजिगीषयाक्षितितले क्वापि द्विषद्दन्तिनैः क्वापि हैयिकुलप्रमाथिभिरपि प्राप्ताः कलिङ्गाः किल ।
तैः कामा
र्णवपक्षमैर्नृपवरैः युद्धं कलिङ्गैः समं प्राप्तं द्रष्टुमिवार्णवादुदगमत् कूर्मावता
रो हरिः । कूर्मस्वामिनि साक्षिणि त्रिनयने तस्मिन् महेन्द्रं गते गोकर्णेपि
महोदधौ वि
यति वा सूर्य्ये तथेन्दावपि । कालिङ्गीं भुवमाहरद्भुजबलादन्योपभुक्तां चिरलक्ष्मीं
चेत्यथ का स्तुतिर्वद ततो गङ्गान्वयस्याहवे । तत्रासीदंशकर्त्तासौ कामार्ण
व महीपतिः । यस्यैते पुत्रपौत्राद्या राजानः ख्यातविक्रमाः । शास्त्रार्थं

निश्चितमतिः द्विषदन्तकारी सर्व्वार्थिवर्गपरितोषणहेतुवर्गः । आचार
तोपि मुनिपुंगवमार्गचारी तस्मादभून्नृपवरो भुवि वज्रहस्तः । न ना
मतः केवलमर्थतोपि स वज्रहस्तस्त्रिकलिङ्गनाथः । को वज्रहस्तादपरः
पृथिव्यां वज्रं पतद्वारयितुं समर्थः । व्याप्ते गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य यश
सा दिक्चक्रवाले शशिप्रायेणामलिनेन यस्य भुवनप्रह्लादसंपादि
ना । सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपंकपटलैः कुंभस्थलीपट्टकेष्वालिम्पन्ति पुनः
पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान् । महिषी नंगमा तस्य पार्व्वतीव पिनाकिनः
तस्मात्त
स्यामभूद्वीरो राजराजो महीपतिः । स राजराजो द्विजराजकान्तिः भुजङ्गराजा
ननव
र्ण्यकीर्त्तिः । श्रीमत्तयाधःकृतराजराजः स्वविक्रमान्न्यक्कृतदेवराजः । तस्याग्रमहि
षी रम्या नाम्नाभूद्राजसुन्दरी । लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव चन्द्रस्येव च रोहिणी । ततस्तस्याम
भूद्वीरश्चोड़गङ्गो नरेश्वरः । क्षौणीभृत्पक्षविच्छित्त्यै दिवीन्द्रात् कुलिशं यथा ।
धात्री तस्य
सरस्वती समभवन्नूनं नचेत् पीतवान् । तत्सारस्वतमार्य्य वालकतया श्रीचोड़गङ्गः
पयः ।
तादृग्वेदमतिः कथं निपुणता शास्त्रेषु तादृक्कथं । तादृक्काव्यमतिः कथं परिणतिः
शीले
षु तादृक्कथं । क्षौणीं दिक्पालशेषामयमकृ(त)पदद्वन्द्वमेतस्य वैरिक्ष्माभृच्चूड़ाश्रिया

Plate II, reverse.

प्तं स्तुतिरिति कियती चोड़गङ्गेश्वरस्य । नूनं पूर्णः शुधांशुः परनृ
पधवलच्छत्रबुद्ध्यापहर्त्ता । मामित्यङ्गस्य वृद्धिं त्यजति यत इव त्र
स्तचित्तः प्रवीरात् । गृह्णातिस्म करं भूमेर्गङ्गागौतमगंगयोः । मध्ये पश्यत्सु
वीरेषु प्रौढः प्रौढ़स्त्रिया इव । प्रतिभटकरशस्त्रव्याहतिस्वाङ्गनिर्य्यग्रुधिरम
वनिनिष्ठं नो भवेद्यत्तदैव । निजकरधृतशस्त्रच्छिन्नभिन्नाङ्गमेतानकृत धरणिश
य्यान् द्वन्द्वयुद्धेषु गंगः । यत्तेजःपरिभूतशत्रुनगरप्रोद्भूतधुमोद्गमैः भूयः खाण्डव
दाहशंकिमनसो देवाः परं भीरवः । स्वर्नीतादसिधारया रिपुगणादाकर्ण्य वार्त्ता
मिव प्रौढिं तस्य नुवन्ति गंगनृपतेर्भीतिं विहाय ध्रुवं । क्रोधोद्यद्द्विपमेघमालिनि
मदस्रोतस्वतीदुर्गमे चंचत्खड्गतडित्प्रभावति नदन्नाराचवज्रोदये ।
सत्सैन्ये जलदागमप्रतिनिधौ जेतुं प्रवर्त्तेत कः शूरोपीति वदन् त्रिलोच

नविभुर्वंङ्गोमुना संगरे । निर्मथ्योत्कलसिन्धुराजमपरं गंगेश्वरः प्राप्त
वानेकं कीर्त्तिसुधाकरं पृथुतमं लक्ष्मी धरण्या समं । माद्यद्दन्तिसह
स्रमश्वनियुतं रत्नान्यसंख्यानि वा तत्सिन्धोः किमिमं प्रकर्षमथवा ब्रू
मस्तदुन्माथिनः । पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिस्तु सर्व्वादिग्रः श्रोत्रे
नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्द्धापि च द्यौरसौ । प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृप
तिः को नाम कर्त्तुं क्षमः तस्येत्यादिनृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेथ गङ्गेश्वरः ।
लक्ष्मीजन्मगृहं पयोनिधिरसौ संभावितस्य स्थितिर्नोधास्त्रिश्वशुरस्य (in B नो-
ध्युमिश्वरस्य) पूज्यत इति द्यौ-
रब्धिवासः ध्रुवं । निर्विघ्नः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तद्दासलाभाद्रमाप्येतद्भृत्यगृहं
वरं पितृगृहात् प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता । त्वं कुर्माधिप मा चल त्वमपि भो व्यालेन्द्र
धैर्य्यं वह
त्वं पृथ्वि स्थिरतां व्रज त्वमधुना ब्रह्माण्ड गाढं भव । श्री गंगाधिपवङ्गसिंह विसर-
त्तद्घोषा
ज्जगद्व्यापिनो दिङ्नागेषु भयाच्चलत्सु जगती कम्पेत वा यत् क्रमात्[1] वर्षाणां स
प्तर्तिं (तो in A) वीरः क्षौणीसंभोगमाचरत् । दिङ्नायकान् प्रतीहारान्
विधायाग्रासु सर्व्वतः ।
किं प्राप्ता महिषी तपोभिरतुलैः श्रीबोड्गंगेन सा । देवैस्तुल्यगुणैर्विभूषिततनुः
कस्तु
रिकामोदिनी । नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः प्रभवतीत्यस्मिन् हरौ वा भूवो रक्षार्थं
धृतजन्म

Plate III, obverse.

नि स्वयमसौ लक्ष्मीः प्रसूताथवा । तस्यां ततोजनि जयन्त इवैकवीरः कामा
र्णवस्त्रिजगदेकवदान्य एषः । सूर्य्यं प्रतापविभवेन जगत्प्रसिद्धकीर्त्तिः
शशांकभधरीकृतवान् विशुद्धा । गंगेशसूनोर्विबुधाश्रयस्य तृप्याद्विधदं
शविभेदशक्तेः । कामार्णवस्यास्य कुमारकत्वं न नामतः केवलमर्थतोपि । प्राप्तो

(1) The following additions in B after क्रमात् (B. II. 35–40):—
घनस्यानगरात् कलिङ्गजबलप्रत्यग्रभग्नाहतिप्राकारायतनोरणाग्रहतिनो गङ्गातटस्थात्ततः ।
योधास्त्रैर्युधि जर्जरीकृतलघद्राधेयगावाकृतिर्मद्रारातिपतिर्गतो रणभुवो गङ्गेश्वरानुद्रुतः ॥
ब्रह्माण्डाद्दचिरस्य कीर्त्तियशसा व्याप्तं न वा भारतो दत्तस्यार्थिजनाय क्षेमनिचयः संकल्पनैर्वा बहुः।
निर्दंभारिचयस्य भावितबलैः स्वस्य प्रतापैर्न वा किंवा नो कृतवानयं स्तुतिपदं श्रीचड्गङ्गेश्वरः ॥

दयं शशांकस्य वर्द्धतां नाम वारिधिः। वर्द्धते कीर्त्तिचन्द्रोयं चित्रं कामार्णवोदये॥
वेदर्त्तु (देवतु in B) व्योमचन्द्रप्रमितशकसमा प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे चापस्थेन्यग्रहौघे
वलवति रिपुषु प्र
क्षयं प्राप्तवत्सु। अस्मिन् मूर्द्धाभिषिक्ते नृपवरतनये सर्व्वलोकैकनाथे श्रीमत्
कामार्णवे
शे जगदभवदिदं तत्तदानन्दपूर्णं। क्षीरार्णवादजनि चन्द्रकलेति वार्त्ता कामार्णवात् तु
सकलेन्दुदिवाकराभं। कीर्त्तिप्रतापमिथुनं सहकारि लोके स्थित्याह्वयत् परनृ
पाननुरागशून्यान्। यस्यासिनिर्दलितवैरिकरीन्द्रकुम्भनिर्मुक्तमोक्तिकफ
लान्यसृगुक्षितानि। कामार्णवस्य रिपुसंहतिहेतुकाले सन्ध्याभ्रवभ्रुभगणा
इव भान्ति युद्धे[1]। सप्ताम्भोधीन्वहन्ती क्षितिरतितरला नागकूर्म्मेश्वरानां साहा
य्यं वाञ्छतीयं तदपि पुनरयं कल्पितस्तत्र भारः। धात्रा कामार्णवाख्यः स तु
निजतुलनानिर्दयः स्वर्णभारैः भूयोभूयस्तुलायां स्थित इति धरणेर्भारवाहु
ल्यमाप्तं॥ हृष्टपुष्टजनाकीर्णं विद्वज्जनमनोहरं। दशाब्दानकरोद्राज्यं कामार्ण
वमहीपतिः॥ श्री चोडगङ्गनृपतेर्महिषी ततोन्या तस्येन्दिरा रविकुलोद्भव
राजपुत्री। अद्यापि धातुरुपमाजनि सुन्दरीणां सेयं शुधांशुवदनास्तपसैव
जाता। यद्रू
पशीलगतिवर्णनया प्रसिद्धा दृष्टान्तभूर्गिरिसुतेत्यभिधान्यदोषाः। तासोरचण्ड-
कूलिक
सहराय द्रुत वा मिन्दिरामुदवहत् भुवि चोड़गङ्गः। तस्यां ततः समजनि
क्षितिनाथ
नाथः श्रीराघवः परनरेश्वरदर्पमर्दी। यत्पट्टवंधनविधिश्रवणातिभीताः सर्व्वे
नृपाः स्व

(1) The following additions in B after युद्धे (B. III. 3–7):—
दृप्यद्वैरिचमूर्म्मया कवलिता नैवं मया स्वादितेत्यन्योन्यं कलहे तु निर्णयाविधौ खड्ग-
प्रभावेच्छया।
माध्यस्थ्यं गमितेव निर्मलतमा कीर्त्तिस्त्वदीया ब्रवीम्यालोच्येह महद्भिरित्युपगता धातुः
श्रुतीरादरात्।
अस्राक्षीत् स हिरण्यगर्भमपरे लोके महेशः पुरेत्युत्कृष्टं प्रवदन्ति ये तु वदनव्रातो-
विरुद्धोधुना।
तेषां यत्तु हिरण्यगर्भमकरोत् कामार्णवेशः स्वतः सम्पन्नं जनितं जगद्यत इह प्रत्यक्षतः
प्राणिनां।

हृदिकम्पमवाप्तवन्तः । श्री राघवे राजनि चित्रमेतत्तेजोविहीनः क्षितिपालवर्गः ।
यत्पादसे
वाक्षतदेहसिद्धिर्मिथ्यीभवत्येव समस्त एषः । प्रौढारिप्रहृतिप्रकारविहितप्रा-
चण्डरपा
घीभवद्दोर्दण्डोपमितिप्रगल्भविषयः प्राप्तुतवानर्जुनः । संप्रत्याहवरंगसंगत
रिपुश्रेणीशिरःकन्दुकक्रीड़ासक्तभुजः शरासनभृतामेकोपमा राघवः । जग

Plate III, reverse.

ति परशुरामः प्रादुरासी(द्)द्वितीयः किमुरिपुकुलहन्ताखाञ्चया छन्नलोकः । क्षि-
तिवितरणदीक्षासक्तहस्तः प्रतापादपि दशशतवाङ्मर्यस्यशत्रुर्विनाशी । भेदं
भेदमरातिकुंजरघटां क्षौणीन्द्रपंक्तिं रणे पायं पायमसृक्पयांसि बऊधा
श्रीराघवाग्निः क्षणात् । शुभ्रं शुभ्रमिवोद्वहन्द्विजपतेः कीर्त्तिप्रतानं परं चन्द्रं
चन्द्रिकया प्रपूर्णतरया संसेव्यमाकांक्षते । दूर्गेषु दावदहनः क्षितिभृत्सु वज्रो
मायत्करीन्द्रघटनाविधिसिंह एषः । विद्वेषिभूमिपतयोनिवसन्ति यत्र श्रीराघवः
क्षितिपतिर्विततप्रभावः । श्रीराघवो धराधीशः क्षौणिपालशिरोमणिः । चकरो
द्राज्यमब्दानामुद्दामो दशपं(सं inB)च च । तस्य श्रीचोड़गंगक्षितिवलयपतेर्वंश-
सन्तान
वल्लीकन्दः श्रीचन्द्रलेखा स्फुटमदितिरिव प्रेयसी कश्यपस्य । तस्या
मुद्दामधामक्षयितदिनमणिर्जज्ञिवान्राजराजो राजन्यक्षोदली
लातिलकितमहिमव्याप्तदिक्चक्रवालः । तस्मिन् दिग्विजयप्र
याणरसिके संरम्भसर्पच्छमूसंक्षुब्धक्षितिचक्रपांशुपटलप्रस्तारव
त्यम्बरे । भूसंपर्कघृणावशाद्दिनमणेरुच्चैः श्रुतं सन्निभिः सुन्यस्तं सुर
सिन्धुरेण धरणीपट्टे रदोद्घट्टनं । चोडगंग नरेन्द्रस्य सूनुरुद्दामवि
क्रमः । राजराज इति ख्यातो राजराजो महीपतिः(1) । एतस्यां भुवि यं

(1) The following additions in B after महीपतिः (B. III. 31–36) :—
विश्वं क्रीडयति प्रगल्भ-वचसि प्राक्षेयशैलसुतो यद्यशाद्यगभूदभूतसदृशं सन्तस्तदाकर्णतां ।
चन्द्रः पीठति लक्षति स्वभवनं प्रासादते तद्यशो दिङ्नाथाः प्रतिमन्ति तस्य परितः शत्रुः
पदे भट्टति ।
सानन्दं विदधाति चेतसि भवत्कीर्त्तिर्गुणग्राहिणः सूते दोर्दमथिनः प्रतिदिन
श्रीराजराज ध्रुवं ।
येयं सम्प्रति याति गण्डयुगयोर्दिक्कुञ्जराणां ध्रुवं याचारामवतां सुमन्त्रवलयत्याग्रापलोनां
गटं ।

चविंशतिसमाः क्ष्मापाललक्ष्मीधवः कृत्वा जित्वरस्वीयचंचलभुजा द
म्भोलिरुर्वीपतिः । वीरः प्राज्ययशस्तुषारकिरणश्रेणीरसावासनादुदगच्छत्
सुरलोकवाञ्छितयशाः श्रीराजराजो नृपः । तस्यानुजो नृपतिराज्यपदेभिषिक्तः
सूरिप्रियः परिमितादिनृपप्रशस्तिः । पृथ्वीपतिः कलिमलोज्झितधर्म्मशुद्धः
कार्य्यक्षमः प्रभुरसावनियङ्गभीमः । वीराधिष्ठितसंगराद्रिशिखरे शङ्खस्वना
सादिते कुन्तोद्भिन्नमहेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्तावलीपुञ्जिते । हर्षादुग्रनिजप्रताप
दहने खड्गसृचा विद्विषां राज्ञामाननपंकजानि नृपति र्हुत्वानयद्यः श्रियः ॥
क्षीराब्धेर्मथितात् सुरासुरभुजव्यापारविक्षोभितात् चन्द्रस्यार्द्धमभूत्तदप्यधियया
वीशानमेकं किल । चंचद्बाहुबलेन संगरभुवि त्वत्खड्गधाराजलाज्जातस्त्वष्टदिगी-

Plate IV, obverse.

श्वरान् पृथुयशश्चन्द्रः समालिङ्गति । यत्प्रयाणसमुद्धूतरजःसंहारितेम्बरे ।
अभूद्द्विरदराजस्य धुलीधूसरिता तनुः । दशवर्षाणि वीरोसौ निर्जिताराति
मण्डलः । अनङ्गभीमभूपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत् । प्रौढानर्गलविक्रमः कुल
गृहं यो दण्डनीतिश्रियः सत्याचारविचारचारुचरितः पुण्यैकपारायणः ।
तस्यासीदनियंगभीमनृपतेरर्द्धांगलक्ष्मीः स्वयं देहश्रयातिशयेन पट्टम
हिषी वा(ब्रा in B)घल्लदेवी भुवि । तुलितपितृगणौघः सूनुरासीदमुष्यां निरति-
शयितते
जा यौवनावाप्तराज्यः । प्रणतनृपतिचूड़ारत्नरोचिःपिशंगीकृतचरणसरो
जो राजराजोनृपालः[1] । यस्मिन् शासति शासितारिनिचये सम्यक्समुद्राम्बरां पृ
थ्वीं पार्थिवपुंगवे नृपगुणैः श्रीराजराजे नृपे । चक्रे माधव एव तैक्ष्ण्यमधिकं
कौक्षेयके चिन्तनं शास्त्राभ्यासविधौ विशेषजड़ता काले कलेः श्रूयते[2] । त्यागे
यो धनदो युद्धे भीमार्ज्जुनयुधिष्ठिरैः । सदृशोयं महावीरो राजराजो

(1) The following additions in B after नृपालः (B. IV. 2–4):—
तस्योद्यद्वाजिराजिप्रखरखुरपुटाघातवेल्लद्धरित्रीपृष्ठोत्तिष्ठद्वितानद्यतिशमितदिवानाथतेजः
समूहं ।
विस्तीर्णं कर्णतालाहतिभिरविरतोन्मत्तसेनागजानामष्टानां दिग्गजानां मुखपटतुलना
मादधे धूलिजालं ।

(2) The following additions in B after श्रूयते (B. IV. 6–8):—
यत्कीर्त्तिदुग्धजलधिर्भु(व)नान्तरालं संप्राप्य दूरतरमुच्छलितो विभाति ।
भासां मणिः स्फुटरुचिर्गगने समन्तात् सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म इव यत्परिदर्शनीयः ।

महीपतिः[1] । चालुक्यकुलसंभूता वेला सौन्दर्य्यवारिधेः । नाम्नास(सी ?)द्गुणदेवेति महिषी तस्य भूपतेः । तस्यामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः श्रीमानयं भूभृदनंगभीमः । विराजते कीर्त्तिसुधातरङ्गधौतासु दिग्भित्तिषु यत्प्रशस्तिः[2] । कष्टं भोः कलिरस्मि किं तु विमनाः कस्मै निवेद्यात्मनः शोकाम्भोधिमपाहरामि कुशली किं स्वित् शिवो वा हरिः। यः सूरः कलयाम्बदीयसमये विक्षिप्य गंगान्वये जातः श्रीमदनंगभीमनृपतिः सोनर्थभूतो मम[3] । यस्यानर्गलविक्रमार्जितयशःक्षीरोददानोर्मिभिः दातारः किल कामगोप्रभृतयः प्रोत्सरिता दूरतः। किंचायं च हिरण्यगर्भकलनावैदग्धमाकर्णयन् लज्जालोलचतुर्मुखाच्चिनिवहो मन्ये महानृपद्मभूः[4]। आकर्षता हृदयमेणविलोचनानामाधुन्वता च परितः प्रतिपार्थिवानां।

अर्थो

दयप्रणयिना क्षतिनामनंगभीमप्रक्षितिरधुना विदधे नृपेण। जगाम धाम देवानां सदैव सेवकप्रियः । भुक्त्वा भुजप्रभावेन त्रयःत्रिंशत् समाः पुमान् । श्रीकस्तूरादेव्यामदितौ त

स्माच्च कश्यपादुर्व्यां । जगदुद्धर्तुं जातः पापिकहन्ता हरिरिव क्षापः । असुरेन्द्रशोणि

तनिवेशविश्रतामपनीय सोथ वज्रदानवारिभिः । करमात्मनः तमधुना विशोधयन्नरसिंह

(1) The following important additions in B after **महीपतिः** (B. IV. 9–10):—
राजराजोनरपतिर्देशस्य च वत्सरान्। भुवि राज्यश्रियं भुक्त्वा स्वाराज्याय प्रतस्थिवान्।

(2) The following additions in B after **प्रशस्तिः** (B. IV. 12–14):—
तस्यानर्गलदोः प्रतापलहरीलावण्यवीचिव्रजक्रन्दत्वैरिवधूविलोचनजलाप्लवैरेरा दत्तरा।
किं चोत्सर्गतरङ्गभङ्गकलनैः पाथोधियानोच्छलादुद्रोढावक्रितकन्धरः स भगवान् सिन्धौ पुराणो मुनिः।

(3) The following additions in B after **मम** (B. IV. 17–20):—
ध्यानानुवन्धिनिविड़प्रसरप्रमोदं माध्वीकमुग्धमधुरं हृदयारविन्दं।
देवः पुराण पुरुषः परिरभ्य यस्य रोलम्बडम्बरकलां कलयां चकारः।
लक्ष्मीरक्षणसौविदल्लपदवीं प्रत्यर्थिश्रथ्वीभुजां प्राणाकर्षणरज्जुविभ्रमतुलामुद्दाममाघट्टयन्।
संग्रामस्खलकेलिताण्डवकलापाण्डित्यमामण्डयन् यस्यायं ज(ग)दद्भुतैकविलसत् क्रीड़ानटः सायकः।

(4) The following additions in B after **पद्मभूः** (B. IV. 22–23):—
येनाभिषेकसमयः कलितत्रयेण नीतःतुलापुरुषदानफलानुबन्धैः।
लब्धापि न क्षितिरमुष्य मुदे तथाभूद्यादृग्द्विजातिजनशासनदानकेलिः।

Plate IV, reverse.

एष जगति स्फुटोभवत् । श्वेतातपत्रस्थितचामरचारुमूर्त्तेर्दिग्दन्तिदन्तप
रिमण्डलमण्डपस्य । अंके कृतस्य सुतभावनया भवान्या सिंहासने जयति यस्य
पदं सदैव । राढ़ा(main B) नरेन्द्रजननी(युवती ?)नयनांजनाश्रुपूरेण दूरविनिवे-
शितकालिमश्रीः । त
द्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरंगा गंगापि नूनमसुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् । कुर्वन् प्रकाश-
मनिशं द्वि
जसाच्च कृत्वा मेरुं तुलापुरुषमुख्यमहार्थदानैः । स्वान्तःपुरैः सह सदक्कलयन्ति
कोणाको
णे कुटीरकमठीकृतसुप्तरश्मिं[1] । कृत्वा निर्मथितद्विषं वसुमतीमब्दांस्त्रयस्त्रिं
शतं भुक्त्वा भोगमनु
त्तमं नरपतिः दोर्गर्व्वसर्व्वंकषः । स्वेहात्यन्तविनाकृतोन्तिमदशामासाद्य दीपोपमः
प्राप्तः
कालपतङ्गपुंगवदशां यातिस्म निर्व्वाणतां । तस्य श्रीमान् सुदिनविधये
मालत(वे ?)न्द्रात्मजायां
सीतादेव्यामजनि तनुजो भानुवद्भानुदेवः । पद्मोल्लासं विदधदतुलं कैरव
स्वानिमुच्चैश्चध्वंसी परधरणिभृत्मौलिविन्यस्तपादः । वज्रमुष्टिरपि निर्भरदा
ता वेपनोपि समरैकधुरीणः । उग्रमूर्त्तिरपि कृष्णशरीरो यत्करेण कलितः
करवालः[2] । आचन्द्रार्कफलोपभोगसुलभान्यत्युच्चसौधावलीशोभाविस्फुरि
तानि प्रासनप्रतान्येव क्षमायागुरुः । सच्छायानि रसालपूगपनसप्रायै
स्तरुणां गणैः कृत्वा ताम्रविलेखितानि विधिवत् सच्छोत्रियेभ्यो ददौ । प्रिया

(1) The following additions in B after सुप्तरश्मिं (B. IV. 33–35) :—
कष्टाशाचक्रवालक्षमणरयमहाधामसंभावितत्वत् चावेचूदन्यदभ्रंलुपगत अपि चालब्ध-
सत्ता सुरायां ।
सर्पिःसंसर्पदाद्युः दधि मधुरमथाख्याद्य दुग्धेन धृष्टा यत्कीर्त्तिः कान्तमूर्त्तिः सलिलनिधि-
मथाक्रान्तमाचामतीव ।

(2) The following additions in B after करवालः (B. IV. 41–44) :—
पार्थं पार्थं रविरविरतं प्रस्तुते यस्य यज्ञे जानाजीर्णो हरिरतितरां याति निद्रां समुद्रे ।
धर्मोद्गारीलवणसलिलं पीयते वाड़वोग्निः प्रोद्यच्छूलः समजनि शिवः कालकूटाशनोऽपि ।
ब्रूमः किमस्य तुलनां लघुतोपनीतनतप्रतिच्छिनिष्टनः किल दानशौण्डान् ।
सद्यो यदेष कनकाचलकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमानकृतनिर्जितसम्पदस्तान् ॥

जाकल्लदेवीति तस्यासीद्भानुभूपतेः । कटाक्षपातनिक्षिप्तकन्दर्पकरसा
यका । अन्तःपुरवधूवृन्दचूड़ामणिमरीचिभिः । कृतनीराजना नित्यं यत्पा
दकमलद्वयी । तस्यामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः कविप्रियः श्रीनरसिंहदेवः । आकर्णयन् यस्य
कुमारकालकथां कुमारोपि जहाति गर्व्वं । श्री वीरभानुनृपतौ त्रिदिवेश्वरस्य तस्मिन् प्र
याति[1] पदवीं सुरवृन्दवन्द्यां । वर्षाणि सप्तदश भूवलयं भुजाभ्यां भुक्ता तु यः सपदि शत्रु
कुलं विभेद । कन्दर्पो हरिणीदृशां रिपुगजश्रेणीषु पंचाननो भूदेवद्युतिरिन्दु सुन्दरमुखः
श्रीमान् नृसिंहोनृपः । यत्दोर्दण्डकृपाणदारितपरपृथ्वीपतिप्रोच्छलदक्षा यास्तु-
नदी क्षरितक्ष वि
हहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति । आकर्ण्य विश्ववलिकर्णरवं संपूरणाम्रतवशापि तमन्यमेव ।
वाचां विलासमसकृत्तु विकल्पमानो वाचंयमो भवति वाक्पतिरेव यस्य । तस्य प्राणप्रिया चोडदेवी दैवत
वल्लभा । रूपयौवनसौभाग्यनिर्जिताखण्डलप्रिया । अजनि रत्ननिजानिश्रीरयं चोड़देव्यां महितन्
Plate V, obverse.
पतिरत्नं गंगवंशावतंसः । परनरपतिलक्ष्मीमौलिरत्नप्रभाभिः शवलित इव नित्यं लक्ष्य
ते यस्य पादः । चतुस्त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यवनिवलयं निर्गतरिपुं निरातंको भुक्ता हरिचरण-सेवासुर
सिकः । सुराधीशस्यार्द्धासनविहितसम्मानकुतुकं समास्ते यः सख्यं कविकुमुद-चन्द्रो न
रपतिः । विद्यानां वासभूमिर्विषमशरभवो राजलक्ष्मीभुजंगो धौरेयः शस्त्रभाजां निजनग
रवधूलोचनानन्दचन्द्रः । वीरः श्रीभानुदेवोभुजयुगपरिखायंचितां शास्ति पृथ्वीं ताते पौर

(1) B plate IV ends here. The Vth plate of B is missing.

न्दरीनां हरिणशिशुदृशां कामुकत्वं प्रयाति । राज्ञो यस्य गयासदीनसमरप्रारब्ध
शौर्यचल
प्रौढ़ानेकनरेन्द्रकन्धरगलत्किलाणपूर्णावनिः । तत्कालच्छतवच्छसः करिकुलात्-
स्कारो थ्यितः श्रोणितासारोद्यापि दिगन्तरेस्ति विलसत्सन्ध्यानुरागच्छलात् ।
भूषणं (क) वचं यस्य निवा
सो भूभृतां श्रियः । निकेतः सर्व्वविद्यानां भानुदेवो महीपतिः । न नामतः
केवल मर्थतोपि प्रिया भवत्तस्य नृपस्य लक्ष्मीः । वेलेव लावण्य सरित्
प्रियस्य लतेव सौजन्यमहीरुहस्य । जातस्तस्यां रिपुकरिघटाभेदसिं
हो नृसिंहो यो बालोपि क्षितिपतिशिरोमौलिमालां पिनष्टि । श्रुत्वाप्यस्योदय
दिनकथाः शक्रभूमीपतीनां हारव्याजात् पतति हृदये वीरलक्ष्म्यश्रुपूरः ।
वीरभानुधराधीशश्चतुर्विंशतिवत्सरान् । भुक्ता महीं सराधीशशास
नस्यार्द्धभागभूत् । तते सुरेन्द्रवनितानयनारविन्दसन्दोहविस्मयभु
जि क्षितिपालरत्ने । यः शास्ति तु क्षितिमिमामरिराजराजिराजीवशो
तकिरणो नरसिंहदेवः । कर्णः कर्णपथं न याति क्षतिनां यद्दानमाकर्णयन् ते
कल्पद्रुम
कामगोप्रभृतयः संप्रार्थनादायिनः । लोकेभ्यो यदयं ददाति सततं ध्येयं
न तच्चेतसा किं
ब्रूमो महिमानमस्य नृपतेर्लोकत्रयाह्लादिनः । तुलापुरुषदानेषु श्रीनृसिंहमहीप
तेः । व्रजन्ति न तुलां यस्य भुवि कर्णादयो नृपाः । तुरङ्गराजोच्चुरक्षितोर्वीच्छ
रद्रजोभिः
कलितेन्तरीक्षे । यस्य प्रयाणेन्वयमाश्रयन्ति मन्दाकिनीपङ्कजकाननानि । तस्य काम
लदेवीति प्रिया सदेशभूपजा । अन्तःपुरवधूमौलिमालार्चितपदद्वया । भानु
वङ्गानुदेवोयं
जातस्तस्यां महीपतिः । कमलानन्दनः श्रीमानुवैरुचैर्महीक्षितां । गंगान्वये
नरहरेर्नृ
पतेस्तनूजः सन्मित्रपङ्कजविकाशसहस्रभानुः । श्रीभानुदेव इति भूपतिराविरास्ते
यस्तेजसा

Plate V, reverse.

रिपुतमोभिवहं निरुन्धे । तते पुरन्दरपुरीतिलकायमाने भुक्ता तु विंशतिसमाः सहि
ताश्चतुर्भिः । यो रक्षति क्षितिमनर्गलदोःप्रतापज्वालावलोकवलितारिदृशां प्रयाणैः ।

(1)यस्य प्रस्थानकाले तुरगक्षुरपुटोद्धूतधूलीकलापैः संछन्ने तीग्मभानौ दिशि दिशि स
हसा संकुचन्त्यम्बुजानि । खिद्यन्ते चक्रवाकाः सहचरगृहिणीविप्रयोगं भजन्तः
किं च स्वेच्छा
भिसारं कलयति परितः स्वैरिणीनां समूहः । (2)वेलोल्लसद्विद्रुमशंखसार्थव्याजेन
यस्यारि
निसूदनस्य । तेजो यशश्चान्य नृपैरलंघ्यं व्यनक्ति नित्यं सरितामधीशः । हीरा-
देवीति तस्या
सीन्महिषी सहिता गुणैः । चालुक्यकुलसंभूता लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीपतेरिव । तस्याम-
जायत दया
विनयप्रभावसौन्दर्य्यधैर्य्यनयकीर्त्तिकलानिवासः । वीरः कुमारइव पर्व्वतराजपुत्र्यां वि
श्वप्रसिद्धमहिमा नरसिंहदेवः । तेजोद्भुतं किमपि भाविकमुन्नयद्भिः सं
भावितः शिशुवयस्यपि यस्य पादः । ना राज्य इव भूपति मौलिरत्नमूर्द्धणि
वारि कमलाविक्ररोत्कराश्च । एतेन सर्व्वगुणरत्नविभूषणेन विद्यावि
वेकविमलीकृतमानसेन । नारायणेन वसुदेवइवात्मजेन प्रीतिं निरन्त-
रमविन्दत भानुदेवः । स षड्विंशतिवर्षाणि भुक्त्वा राज्यमकण्टकं । नयना
नन्दनः श्रीमान् प्राप्तः पौरन्दरीं पुरीं । ततः कृतज्ञैः समुपास्यमानः स
न्मन्त्रिभिः श्रीनरसिंहदेवः । महीपतिर्नीतिकथानुवर्त्ती विभर्त्ति पृथ्वीवल
यं भुजेन । प्रस्तुन्वणक्षनमुन्मनाः प्ररतयगीताभिनीनिक्रमं शून्यध्यानमि
षाण्मुहुर्दिविषदां शापे(स्त्रे?)षु वद्धस्पृहः । हेला निर्जित पञ्चवाणविभवमंग-
प्रभामिक्षि
तुं यस्येनोषनि यौवने सुरवधूवर्गं क्षितिं कांक्षति । तर्कः षाड्गुण्यमन्त्रीसमर-
गुरुभरे वा
हुचक्रं सहायः शौर्यं सर्व्वांगरक्षा निजरिपुहनने हेतयो यस्य सेनाः । स
श्रीमानुत्कले
न्द्रः प्रतिनृपतिशिरःश्रेणिषु क्रीड़मानोराजीवाक्षालिमाद्यत्करीवरविलसद्वीर-
लक्ष्मी-
र्विभाति । यद्दूरप्रयाणरासमराभूः कंकालमालाकुलायल्लोके शतयज्ञतोति
गहनः य

(1) This çlōka is given further down in B. VI. 5-6.
(2) This çlōka is to be found further down in B. VI. 10-11.

ण्मानवीणैः सुरैः। यत्कान्तेषु पुरतनेषु विरसः स्वर्वारनारीगणस्ता एताः खलु
तस्य वैरि
जपितो वीरस्य विक्रान्तयः। नेत्राम्बुपूरपरिवर्द्धिमहापगासु लम्बालकांबुद
निपीत मुखेन्दु
भासु। प्रत्यर्थिमन्दिरपुरन्ध्रिसभासु येन क्लृप्ता सदैव वसतिर्जलदागमस्य। कुर्वन
कुक्षिंभरि

Plate VI, obverse.

त्वंप्रतिकृतिकपटादाहतैः सांयुगीनैः प्रत्यङ्गं चाङ्कदम्भादविरलपुलकाविष्कृतान्तः
प्रमोदः। प्रत्यग्रास्राभिमिश्रस्फुरितरुचिरयोदग्रहासाग्रहासो वैरिव्रातप्रमाथे
कणम
पि न दधे य(त्) कृपाणः कृपायाः। ईषद्रोषकषायितेन मनसा कालिंग राज्यश्रियै
प्रस्था
नप्रहितैर्वलैस्तत इतो यस्योत्तरंगीकृताः। अद्यापि स्फुटपुण्डरीकपटलश्रीगर्वसर्वं
कर्षैः फेनैः कीर्त्तिमुदाहरन्ति विषदागोदावरीवीचयः[1]। वीरश्रीमान् जयति स
कलक्ष्मातले ख्यातकीर्त्तिर्नेत्रानन्दः सरसिजदृशां भूपतिः श्रीनृसिंहः। केशाकृष्टि
प्रतिह
तशिरोरत्ननिर्भिन्नवेणी येनाकारि प्रथमसमरे वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीः। यस्याञ्चद्वा-
जिराजिप्र

(1) The following additions in B after वीचयः (B. VI. 4 et seq.)

निरर्गलं सेवलताधगामिनीं स पीडयन्नेककरेण गामिमां।
वृषं पुरस्कृत्य समीहितं दुहन्नदृष्टपूर्व्वं स्फुटमेतिगोपतां॥

After this comes the çlōka mentioned in note 14. In line 6 comes

किं ब्रूमः क्षौणि भर्त्तुर्जगति गजपतेस्तस्यदानप्रकर्षं येनस्तब्धाद्युलोके वितरणविहित
ख्यातयः कल्पवृक्षाः।
गूढश्चिन्तामणिस्तु क्वचिदपिगहने वर्त्त्यते क्ष्माधराणां व्रीडानम्राच शंके बहु वहति
तृणान्यानने कामधेनुः।
यस्मिन् राजनि राजनीतिचतुरे संरक्षति क्ष्मामिमामिन्दोरेव कलङ्किता सुरपतेरेवास्ति
गोत्रारिता।
शम्भोरेव विषादिता रतिपतेरेवेश्वरद्वेषिता विष्णोरेव विवर्णता जलनिधेरेव क्षमा
हीनता।

Then follows the çlōka mentioned in note 15.

खरखुरभरोद्धूतधूलीकलापै र्वैकुण्ठस्यापिजातः कृतकमठतनोः स्तोकमात्रावता-
रः । सं
ग्रामाम्भोधिगच्छद्विरदघनघटाप्रच्छरद्दानधारासाराप्लुता प्रयाति च्छर
दमरधुनीं यद्यसौ राजहंसः । आकर्णाकर्णं यस्य द्रविणवितरणप्रक्रमा
न्नित्यमेव विचस्ताः सन्ति चिन्तामणिविबुधगवीकल्पवृक्षा विलक्षाः[1] । स श्रीमा
न् वैरिवीरप्रमदगर्भघटातुंगकुम्भस्थलानां प्रौढ़ः पंचाननोयं जगति वि
जयते भूपतिः श्रीनृसिंहः[2](॥ + ॥ [3]श्रकन्दपतेरतीतेषु पंचाधिकेषु त्रयोद
शशतसंवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशाधनाधिपतीत्यादिविरुदावली
विराजमानः श्रीमान् नृसिंहदेवनृपतेः स्वराज्यस्य षष्ठाब्दे
अभिलिख्यमाने चैत्रेमासि शुक्लेपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां तिथौ रविवारे वा
राणसिकटके विश्वकर्म भावेदक समये श्रीचरणे भितरनवर कन्यामण्डप
वाङ्खिथाए विजयसमये दुआरपरीक्ष गड़ेश्वर जेना वुढ़ालेङ्गालाण्ड
सनिमिश्र भण्डारिआ थाउ पोरोपरीक्ष माहापात्र नरेन्द्रदेव चक्रवर्त्ती
माहापात्र नरहरिदास प्रहराज माहापात्र श्रीपति मङ्गलराज अ
वधारिला ता । ए पोरोश्रीकरण स्वप्नेश्वर माहासेनापति वड़ो माहासेनाप
ती मुदलेन महापात्र नरहरिदास प्रहराज कइक किनरि ग्रामर नाम विजयन
रसिंहपुर चतुःसीमासमाक्रान्त शासन करिदेवा । कलभोर उतरखण्ड मध्ये कि
नरि ग्रामर नाम विजयनरसिंहपुर । राउतपड़ा पाखर रसंवन्ध जित चिआरिस

Plate VI, reverse.

पंचास माढ ४५० चान्दलो पाखर रसंवन्धा चिआरिस पंचास माढ ४५० गा
त्रिहि अवदान-मध्य करि जित नअस ६०० माढ कइ पोरोश्रीकरण वड़(इ ?)
दासी-
महासेनापतिर सीमा कला प्रमाणे । अस्य ग्रामस्य पूर्व्वसीमा । मलए ग्रामर
कपिलेश्वर देवङ्कर देउलर पश्चिम विवाद सोलदण्डार वड़ कंकड़ा दण्डार
अर्द्ध आदिकरि आड़लग्रामर सोलदुअर पश्चिम सार्द्ध कंकड़ालुण्डादण्डार अ

(1) The portion आकर्णाकर्ण ... to लक्षाः omitted in B.

(2) The following addition in B after नृसिंहः (B. VI. 18-19) :—
राजमतङ्गजसिंहे नरपतिसिंहे प्रतापनरसिंहे। शासति वसुधामेतां धात्र्यां वधरत्वने न जाते ।

(3) The passages regarding the grant in B are given at the end.

र्द्ध घुआ पाड़ियामर अनाइहल्ल भूइर चत्तरदण्डा अर्द्धपर्य्यन्त सीमानमादि
ङ्कत्वा। दक्षिणसीमा। भाखरसाहियामर चकलिआ अलण्डा विआलि ओत्वभुइर उ
त्तर दण्डा अर्द्धवधपड़ायामर उत्तर राङ्कुर अर्द्धवसाखण्डग्रामर दोसीमान्त वं
ध उपर नाअपथर कलुमादिकरि लङ्कावड़ग्रामर उत्तर गा
लीनइर अर्द्ध मकुलुण्डाग्रामर नइ तड़ पाणिग्रिला खंभार पूर्व्व-
छिड़पर्य्यन्त सीमानमादिङ्कत्वा। पश्चिमसीमा। मकुलुण्डाग्राम
र पूर्व्व पातुआ घाइर कोणावन्धर वड़वरगछ वोकणाग्रामर पू-
र्व दोसीमा पडिआ वसत अर्द्ध आदिकरि संघड़ाग्रामर खजु
रिआ योड़ पश्चिम तड़ एग्रामर वसन्तरपूर्वदोसीमा राङ्कुर अ
र्द्धपर्य्यन्त सीमानमादिङ्कत्वा। उत्तरसीमा। उलटपुर ग्रासनर
दक्षिणकंकड़ा जोड़ अर्द्ध आदि करि वालपुरग्रामर दक्षिण
अलचेपड़ार मध्यक दण्डार अर्द्ध अट्टहासपुर ग्रासनर दक्षिण रोण्डोइ
दण्डार वंधपर्य्यन्त सीमानमादिङ्कत्वा। एवं चतुःसीमा समाक्रान्त कलम्भोर उत्त
रखण्ड मध्य मध्य। सीनः नअस ९०० माढ़ परिमित ग्रासनाख्याविजयनरसिंहपु
रनामानं किंनरिग्रामं खायुरारोग्यैश्वर्य्यसाम्राज्यसम्वृद्धये महापात्रनरहरिदा
स प्रहराजाय सजलस्थलमङ्कङ्कङ्कपपादपारण्यवालुकाभीठसहितमा
चन्द्रार्कमकरीङ्कत्य प्रादात्। अस्य ग्रासनस्यांगतया कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय य
जुर्वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिने ग्रासनताम्राधिकारिणे श्रीमन्महापात्र
सन्धिविग्रहिक स्वप्नेश्वर नामधेय ब्राह्मणाय गृहवाटीसहितं वाटी चतुष्टयः।

Plate VII.

एतत्ताम्रलेखक दूर्गादाससेनापतेर्वास्तुसहितमेतदर्द्धं। महानफलसि
द्ध्यर्थं तद्रक्षाफलसिद्धये। मद्धर्म्मः परिपाल्येयं भूमेराचन्द्रतारकं। मा
भूदफलशंका ते परदत्तेति पार्थिव। स्वदत्तादधिकं पुण्यं परदत्ता
नुपालनं। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर। महीं मतिमतां श्रे
ष्ठ दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच वसुन्धरां।
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते। निर्जने प्रान्तरे देशे शुष्ककोटरवा
सिनः। कृष्णसर्पाहि जायन्ते ये हरन्ति वसुन्धरां। गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा
भूमेरप्यर्द्धमंगुलं। हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवः। ग्रन्थेनापि
कृतोधर्मः पालनीयो मनीषिभिः। ग्रन्थरेव हि ग्रन्थः स्यात् ध
र्मः ग्रन्थेन कस्यचित्। मदंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पा

पादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः। ये पालयन्ति ममधर्ममिमं
समस्तं तेषामयं विरचितोञ्जलिरेष मूर्ध्नि। मद्वंश्यः परवंश्यो वा
यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत्। तस्याहं करलग्नः स्याम् यो मत्कीर्त्तिं न लुम्पति ॥ ० ॥(1)
शुभं भवतु। शुभं भवतु। शुभं भवतु ॥ श्री श्री श्री ॥

The following is the grant in the B plates :—

L. 19, plate VI, obverse et seq.

शकनृपतेरतीतेषु षोड़षाधिकेषु त्रयोदशशतसंवत्सरेषु च
तुर्द्दशभुवनाधिपतीत्यादिविरुदावलीविराजमानः श्रीवीरनृसिंहदेव नृपतिः स्वरा-
ज्यस्य द्वाविंशत्यङ्के अभिलिख्य
माने विछा शुक्ल एकादश्यां मंगलवारे वाराणासि कटके श्रीचरणे भितर
नवरे पुजानन्तर + + + तर वि
जय समये पार्श्वे महापात्र कृष्णानन्द सांधिविग्रहिक माहापात्र लाण्डुरथ
+ + भाहापात्र गोपीनाथ सान्धिविग्रही
क पात्र भुवनानन्द सांधिविग्रहिक पात्र सिद्धेश्वर जेना द्वारपरिक्ष त्रिविक्रम
सांधिविग्रहिक + + + सेनाध्यक्ष एतेषु
स्थितेषु श्रीकरणविश्वनाथ महासेनापती गोत्रे अवधायितमुदल श्रीहस्तेन
+ + + देवरथाचार्य्याय भूमि +

Plate VI. reverse.

दतभू त्रिंशत् वाटीपरिमित भूमि निमित्तं अस्मिन् राज्ये त्रयोविंशत्यङ्के विछा
द्वितीय कृष्णसप्तमी पण्डितवा

(1) The following additions in B end the grant (B. VII. 18–23):—

क्षीराम्बुधिर्जगति मङ्गलमातनोतु यत्र श्रिया कनककेतकपत्रकर्ण्या।
श्लिष्टः स्वपन्मुररिपुर्मुदितोञ्जनाभस्तोयं पिबन्नवघनस्तडितेव भाति।
जातः शम्भुशिरोधृतत्रिपथगावीचीषु हंसश्रियं बिभ्रत्तस्य किलोदरे त्रिजगतीनेत्रोत्सव-
श्चन्द्रमाः।
यो (यं?) कान्तिवितानवर्णननिभदासीपरं सोद्रधा कीर्त्ति दिक्षु विनिर्जयन्निशि व्योमा-
ङ्गनं गाहते।
भूदेवस्वस्तिवादस्त्वरयतु दुरितं निर्ज्जराः सन्तु सन्तः सन्तु प्रौढ़ारिवीरव्रजविजयकला-
शालिनः क्षौणिपालाः।
आस्ताद्विद्वच्चकोरश्रमहरणचमत्कारि काव्यं कवीणां सन्तु व्यामोहशान्तिः सृजतु हृदि मुदं
विश्वतश्चन्द्रचूड़ः॥ शुभमस्तु भूतजगतः ॥ ० ॥

रे देवकूटकटके श्रीचरणे पुण्यानवरे जयसमये पार्श्वे पात्र माहामुनिपुरोहित
द्वारपरिच्छा त्रिविक्रम सन्धि
विग्रह वुढ़ाखेड्डा सोमनाथ वाहिनीपति भितरभण्डारअधिकारी नरहरि
संधिविग्रह थाउ पुरोश्रीकरण
विश्वनाथ माहासेनापतिगोचरे अवधरित मुदले देवरथाचार्य्यकु आठखण्ड
कोष्ठदेशमदनखण्ड विषये साइसो
यामार दचि(?)घरे दक्षिण राडसोओ ग्राम ए दुइ ग्राम ग्रासन करी भूमि
ग्रए वाटि देवा। एखाहि मौनसंक्रान्ति क्षण एका
दशी ग्रनिवारे नारायणपुर कटके श्रीचरणे पुण्य उत्तारु विजेकरि आसिवा
समये पार्श्वे वुढाखेड्डा सोमना
थ वाहिनिपति भुवनेश्वर संधिविग्रह लक्ष्मणानन्द संधिविग्रह भितरभण्डार
अधिकारि नरहरि संधिविग्रह था
उ द्वाआरपरिच्छा त्रिविक्रमसंधिविग्रह गोचरे अवधरित मुदले एमासि
पुरोपरिच्छ माहापात्र गतेश्वर दास श्री-
चन्दन आगे अव (ध) रित आज्ञा वोइला मुदले देवरथाचार्य्यर साइस दक्षिण-
राडसओ च (ए) दुइ ग्रा
म कोष्ठदेश उग्रेश्वरदेवङ्कर देउली भूमि देउल मध्यकरि चतुःसीमा समाक्रान्त-
ग्रासनेक
पटा देवा। ओडमोलोमदनखण्ड मध्ये साइसोग्राम ब्रोहिअवदान मध्य करि
कोठआपा
रर भाग तिनिस वाइस माढ ३२२ कै पुरोश्रीकरण विष्णनाथ माहा-
सेनापतिर प
ड़िहइ (?) थ मठिनाएकर सीमा कला प्रमाणे एग्रामर पूर्वसीमा। भगवतीपुर
ग्रासनर पश्चिम चन्द्रप्र-
भा दण्डा अधआदिकरि वांगरिसोग्रामर पुवकोण पोड़ापोड़ा पोखुरिर
द्विजल पर्य्यन्तकेसीमा। उ
त्तरसीमा। वाकुरिसोग्रामर दक्षिण चिड़िचिड़ि वाटीर उतर दण्डार अध
ब्राह्मण वाटीर तिमु-
ण्डीगोपथ अधआदिकरि वाइकणि नदी वा (? धा) इहं अधा सोइ पर्यन्तके
सीमा। पश्चिमसीमा। राड

सञ्चो ग्रामर पुर(व) वाइङ्गणिनदीर अधा सोइ आदिकरि नइपारि गोपो
नाथपूर ग्रासनर नदी तड़ा
आम्वतोटारे दक्षिणकोण कुचिआघाइर गोपथ अधपर्यन्तेके सीमा। दक्षिण-
सीमा। गोपीनाथपूरर उतर हरागऊ
अधाकरि भगवतीपूर ग्रासनर गोपीनाथपूर ग्रासनर तिमुखिगोपथर अर्धनइ
उतर कूल पर्यन्तेके सीमा। गो चतुः
सीमा समाक्रान्तग्रामेक। एविषयमध्ये राड़सञ्चो त्रिंहि सइका अवधान मध्यकरि
मभि (?) घड़र पुरुसोत्तम प्रसाद नवरभा
ग सएसताइस माढ १२७ कै एसीमा कलाप्रमाणे एग्रामर पूर्वसीमा। साइसो
ग्रामर पश्चिम वाइङ्गणीआ नदी अधा
सोइ आदिकरि देउलीभुमिर दक्षिण रकतपटा दण्डा अर्धपर्य्यन्तेके सीमा।
उतरसीमा। देउलीभुमिर दक्षिण रक्तपटा दण्डा
र अध आदिकरि वारोगोनइ अधासोइ पर्यन्तेके सीमा। पश्चिमसीमा। विजय-
लक्ष्मीपुर ग्रासनर पूर्व वारगो नदी अधा सोइ
आदिकरि गोपीनाथपूर ग्रासन सदुआघाइ वंधतल गोपथ अध पर्यन्तेके
सीमा। दक्षिण सीमा। गोपीनाथपूर ग्रासनर उत
र ( ) [1]नइकूलआम्वतोटार पश्चिम गोपथर अध वाइंगणिआ
नइर अधा सोइ पर्यन्तेके सीमा ॥ गाचतुःसी-
मासमाक्रान्तग्रामेक। एविषयमध्ये उग्रेश्वरदेवङ्कर देओलि अवधरितमुदल
प्रमाणे भुमि चिंस वाटि ३० कै एसीमा
कला प्रमाणे एग्राम पूर्वसीमा वांगरिसो ग्रामर पश्चिम वाइङ्गनिआ नइ
आदिकरि वालिआग्रामर पूर्व नइकुल
गोपथ अधपर्यन्तेके सीमा। उतरसीमा। वालिआग्राम दक्षिण खेतमुण्डर
वोहालदण्डा आदिकरि वारगो नदी-

Plate VII, obverse.

र अर्द्धपर्यन्तेके सीमा। पश्चिमसीमा। वि(ज)यलक्ष्मीपूर ग्रासनरपर (?) वारगो
नदीर अधासोइ आदिके सीमा।
दक्षिणसीमा। राढसोआग्रामर उतर रकतपटा दण्डा अर्द्धपर्यन्ते सीमा। गा
चतुःसीमा समाक्रान्तग्रामैक ॥

(1) The name of the river omitted and the space left blank.

गा ग्रामतिनिकि त्रित चिआरिस चालिस न माढ ४४६ भुमि तिरिसवाटिकि
चतुःसीमाक्रान्त यसस्य (ल)
मङ्कक्कपपादपारण्यमध्यकरि आचन्द्रार्कंयाइकरि देवरथ आचार्य्यकु देउल
उग्रेश्व(र) देला मध्यकरि
चतुःसीमाक्रान्त सासन दत पटाक ॥ आत्रयसगोताय यजुंवे(दा)न्तर्गत काण्व
ग्राखैकदेशाध्यायिने देवरथ
ग्रम्मणे ब्राह्मणाय आत्रेयसगोत्रः श्रीमान् श्रीनरसिं(ह) देववर्म्मा ओड्रमोगो
मदनखण्डविषय मध्य (?) मध्या
सौ यथालिखित चतुःसीमा समाक्रान्त स(ज)लस्थलमङ्कक्कपपादपा(र)ण्य
वालुकाभिटसहित साइसो ग्राम द
त्तिणराड्सओग्राम एतत्ग्रामद्वयं आचन्द्रार्कमकरीकृत्य प्रादात् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥
अस्य ग्रासनस्य साक्षतया
ताम्राधिकारिणो नरहरि सनिविग्रहिकस्य । एतद्ग्राम महाज(न) भाग
व्यवस्थया र काम
र ताम्रलेखक गुरुदास सेनापतेः एतदङ्कं ।

Ancient Buddhist Statuettes and a Candēlla Copper-plate from the Bāndā District.—*By* VINCENT A. SMITH, I. C. S., *and* WILLIAM HOEY, D. LITT., I. C. S.

(With five plates.)

[Read June 1895.]

PART I.

The village on the south bank of the Jumna in the Pailānī Tahsīl of the Bāndā District in the North-Western Provinces, which is officially known as Icchāwar, and popularly as Nicchāwar, marks the site of one of the ancient towns of Bundēlkhand.

The ruins on the west side of the modern village are known by the name of Dhanēsar Khērā. Remains of a large building with a plastered floor are here traceable, and an image is venerated as Dhansir Dāī. The statue is that of a bearded man, seated on a cushion, with one leg drawn up, and wearing a cap and waistcloth, or short drawers. A sword hangs by his side. The long, flowing hair is coiled up behind over the shoulders. The ears are long, and adorned with earrings. The hands are folded, and seem to hold a casket. The same name, Dhansir Dāī, is applied to a group of figures, one male, and three female, at Pardāwā̃ in the Mau Tahsīl of the same district. Pardāwā̃, we may note in passing, is an interesting site which would probably repay detailed examination.

The mounds about a mile south-east of Icchāwar are called Dhanī Khērā. The buildings there originally surrounded a considerable lake about thirty acres in extent, which is now dry. This lake is sometimes called the Bahi Tāl, and sometimes the Madan Sāgar. The latter name, which is also applied to the lake in the town of Mahoba, and is there a memorial of the powerful Candēlla king, Madana-varman, appears at Icchāwar to commemorate Madana-pāla-çarmman, the *sēnapatí*, or general, of king Paramarddi-dēva, the grandson and successor of Madana-varman. This seems to be the natural inference from the fact that the copper-plate inscription recording the bestowal of the village Nandiṇī-grāma on the *sēnapatí* was found in the ruins near the dry lake.

This inscription is recorded on two plates, which are now the property of Dr. Hoey. (Plate VII.) Each plate is about 13¼ inches long by 10¼ broad. The plates were formerly connected by a seal which has been lost. A hole for the attachment of the seal is pierced at the bottom of the first, and at the top of the second plate, so that the plates should lie back to back. Copper rivets, some of which still remain, were also inserted in the edges of each plate. These seem to have been intended to attach each plate separately to a wall, and were probably inserted after the loss of the seal.

The inscription on the first plate consists of 17 lines, of which the first four are interrupted in the middle by the insertion of a rude sketch of the four-armed goddess Lakṣmī, with an elephant on each side sprinkling her.[1] The date occurs in the thirteenth line. The last two lines are interrupted in the middle by the hole for the seal.

The inscription on the second plate consists of 18 lines, of which the first two are interrupted in the middle by the hole for the seal.

The characters are those usual in the Candēlla inscriptions of the period. The record, though not protected by raised edges to the plates, is in good preservation, and every letter is legible.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift, on the usual terms, of a village named Nandiṇī-grāma, in the district of Nandāvaṇa, to the *sēnapati*, Çrī Madana-pāla-çarmman, who is described as a Bhaṭṭa of Naugāva; a member of the Kṛṣṇātréya *gōtra*, son of Ṭhakkura Çrī Mahēçvara, grandson of Ṭhakkura Çrī Bhoṇapāla, and great grandson of Ṭhakkura Çrī Tihuṇapāla. The gift is recited to have been made at Çrī Bilāsa-pura on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month Śrāvaṇa, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, in the year 1228 (Vikrama), = A. D. 1177. The donor was *Parama bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, parameçvara, paramamāheçvara Çrī Kālañjarādhipati Çrīmat Paramarddidēva*, who was the successor of Madana-varmma-dēva, who was the successor of Pṛthivī-varmma-dēva.

The modern village, Nandan Dēo, a few miles distant from Dhanī Khērā where the copper-plates were found, probably represents the Nandiṇī-grāma of the inscription. It is visited by pilgrims, but Dr. Hoey had not an opportunity of inspecting the place and learning further particulars. Bilāsa-pura, where the grant was made, has not been identified.

The copper-plate now published is the fourth Candēlla inscription on copper known to exist. Two plates found at Nunaura (Nanyaura)

[1] The same device is inserted in the Augāsī copper-plate of Madana-varman, grandfather and immediate predecessor of Paramardi-dēva (*J. A. S., B*, Vol. XLVII, Pt. I, p. 73).

in the Hamīrpur District belong respectively to the reigns of Dēva-varmma-dēva (S. 1107) and Dhanga (S. 1055).[1] The third plate is a record of Madana-varmma-dēva, dated S. 1190.[2]

A fifth copper-plate inscription of the reign of Vīra-varmman, dated S. 1337, and known as the Dāhi copper-plate, which belonged to Colonel Ellis, was lost in the Mutiny.[3]

The numerous other inscriptions of the Candēlla kings are on stone.

Several inscriptions of the reign of Paramarddi-dēva are known.

A single line record on a pedestal at Mahoba, dated S. 1224, is mentioned by Cunningham, and seems to have contained the king's name. This inscription has not been published, and the original seems to have disappeared.[4]

The Mahoba inscription, dated S. 1240, certainly belongs to Paramarddi-dēva's reign, though his name has been lost.[5]

The Kālañjar inscription, supposed to be dated in S. 1258, requires re-editing. It certainly mentions Paramarddi-dēva.

The Madanapur inscriptions record the fact of the conquest of Paramarddi by Pṛthivī Rāja Cāhumāna (Chauhan) in S. 1239, = A.D. 1182.

An inscription at Khajurāho dated S. 1234, and two at Ajaygaṛh, dated respectively 1237 and 1243, (Nos. 46 and 50 of Cunningham's list), belong to the reign of Paramarddi, though they do not seem to mention his name.[6]

The only inscription mentioning Paramarddi by name, and recorded during his reign, which has been properly edited, is the Bagrāri stone inscription.

"The proper object of the inscription is to record (in verses 25–29) that Sallakṣaṇa, the minister of the king Paramarddi-dēva built a temple of Viṣṇu, and a temple of Çiva at which the inscription was put up; and that this second temple was completed by Puruṣōttama, the son

[1] V. A. Smith and Bābū Prannath Paṇḍit in *J. As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. XLVII, Part I (1878), p. 80.

[2] Rajēndralāla Mitra, *A copper-plate grant from Bāndā*; *ibid.* p. 73, Pl. VI.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæol. Reports*, Vol II, p. 455; Vol. XXI, No. 58, pp. 83, 87.

[4] Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. II, pp 447, 448; Vol. XXI, No 44, p. 82; V. A Smith, *History of Bundelkhand*, *J. A. S., B.*, Vol L, Part I (1881), p. 21.

[5] *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

[6] Madanpur is in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhānsī District of the North-Western Provinces (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. X, p. 98, Pl. XXXII; Vol. XXI, p. 173).

The other inscriptions referred to are noticed in the works already cited. The king's name is written Paramarddi, or Paramardi. So the name Varma may be written as Varmma, or in the stem form as Varman.

of Sallakṣaṇa and his successor in the office of minister, after the death of his father.

And by way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king, and (in verses 14–24) that of his ministers. All that we learn regarding the former is that from Atri's eye sprang the moon, and from the moon the Candrātrēya princes; that one of them was Madana-varman, whose son was Yaçō-varman, whose son again was the ruling prince Paramardi-dēva."[1]

This record alone informs us that Paramarddi, the Parmāl of tradition, although the immediate successor of the famous king Madana-varman, was yet the grandson, not the son, of that monarch. The order of regnal succession was certainly Pṛthivī-varman, Madana-varman, Paramarddi-varman, as given in the Icchāwar plate and the Ajaygaṛh stone inscription of Vīra-varman. The lost Dāhi copper-plate also gave the name of Madana-varman as that of Paramarddi-dēva's predecessor. It is evident that Yaçō-varman never reigned.

The bardic lists (*Arch. Rep.* II, 449) all insert a Kīrtti-varman between Madana and Paramardi. The words *Yaçō* and *Kīrtti* being synonymous, the entry in the lists is probably due to a reminiscence that Paramardi was the grandson of Madana-varman.

The latest known inscription of Madana-varman is dated S. 1220, = A.D. 1163. The earliest inscription of Paramardi is dated S. 1224, = A.D. 1167. It is, therefore safe to assume A.D. 1165 as the beginning of Paramardi's reign.

The Icchāwar inscription is dated S. 1228, = A.D. 1171. The reign of Paramardi ended in A.D. 1202, when he capitulated to Kutbu-d-dīn Ībak, dying before the surrender was effected. He was succeeded by Trailōkya-varman, who temporarily delivered his dominions from the Muḥammadan invaders.[2] Dr. Hoey possesses a unique copper coin of Trailōkya-varman, which we hope to publish soon.

[1] Kielhorn, *Baṭēśvar Stone Inscription of Paramardi-dēva*, (Epigr. Ind. Vol. I. p. 20). In a note the editor points out that the label attributing the stone to Baṭēçvar in the Agra district seems to be wrong, and that the inscription is probably No. 52 of Cunningham's list (*Arch. Rep.* XXI. p. 82), which was found in two pieces on the bank of the lake at Bagrāri. There can be no doubt that the so called Baṭēçvar inscription is really that found at Bagrāri, which like it had 24 lines, and was in two pieces. A Candēlla stone inscription could not have been found near Agra. Bagrāri is a village, in Bundēlkhaṇḍ. We have failed to discover its exact position.

[2] "Then the prince Trailōkya-varman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. Like Viṣṇu, he was, in lifting up the earth, immerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas." l. 5 of *Ajaigarh Inscription of Vīra-varman* (*Epigr. Indica*, Vol. I. p. 329). Professor Kielhorn's excellent editions of several of the Candēlla inscriptions throw much light on the history of Bundēlkhaṇḍ, which requires to be revised.

Part II.

Three early brass statuettes of the Buddha found in the ruins of Dhanōsar Khērā to the west of Icchāwar, and purchased by Dr. Hoey, are of sufficient interest to deserve detailed description.

The material of the statuettes appears to be brass, though it may be the special alloy known as *ashṭadhātu*, or 'the eight metals.' "Copper was never very largely used in the fabrication of statuary, and bronze never, that alloy being held impure. Brass is more readily melted; it has a more attractive colour; it takes a finer polish, and is firmer, more malleable, less liable to rust, and more easily wrought than copper.

It has, therefore, been generally preferred as a material for ornamental figures. In the formation of the statues of gods, it is also very largely employed; but in such cases it is alloyed with small quantities of other metals, *viz.*, gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, and mercury; making with the copper and zinc of brass, eight; which is esteemed the purest alloy, and prized very highly as *ashṭadhātu*." [1]

The two larger statuettes (Nos I and II) are inscribed; the smallest one (No. III) has no inscription.

The standing figure No. I (Plate VIII) is much the better executed of the two larger images, and possesses some merit as a work of art. It closely resembles many of the Gāndhāra sculptures, and, in our judgment, shows distinct traces of Hellenistic influence. Buddha stands in a preaching attitude, holding in his left hand a palm leaf or birch bark scroll. His right hand is open, and raised in admonition. His dress consists of a robe, open at the neck, covering both shoulders, and of an under garment, which appears below. This under garment appears to be a pair of wide drawers, such as are now called a "divided skirt," though it may possibly be an undivided skirt. The feet are bare. The head is covered with the hair arranged in a mat of conventional curls, gathered above into a top-knot. The earrings are long and heavy. The drapery is well executed, and the form of the body is well shown through the clothing. The hands are moulded with considerable skill; a large circular aureole is attached to a projection at the back of the head.

The figure stands on a well designed pedestal, which rests on four claws.

The principal dimensions are as follows:—

Height (including pedestal) to surface of top-knot	...	13″·625
Total height to top of aureole	...	... 14″·725

1 Rājēndralāla Mītra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 67.

Height of figure, from surface of pedestal to surface of top-knot	10″·50
Diameter of aureole	5″·75

The inscription consists of a single line of ancient Nāgarī characters incised on the convex moulding of the pedestal, and running round all four sides. The characters are in some respects peculiar in form, and a few of them are difficult to read, though well-preserved. They are of an early type, and, we should think, not later than A.D. 300. The facsimile, prepared from an inked *estampage*, (Plate IX) will enable the reader to form his own opinion as to their age. The convexity of the moulding, and the shallowness of the engraving cause some difficulty in obtaining a copy of the inscription, which reads as follows:—

Dēyadharmōyaṁ upāsikā Bēdi—
kāyā yadatra puṇyaṁ
tad bhavatu mātā pitrō sarvva satvā—
nāṁ anuttara jñānavāptayē.

"This is the meritorious gift of the female worshipper Bēdikāyā; whatever religious merit there is in it, let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by her father and mother, and by all sentient beings."

This formula, with some slight modifications, is found in three of the later inscriptions in the caves at Kuḍā, forty-five miles south of Bombay.

The earliest inscriptions at Kuḍā, which may perhaps date from the first century B.C., are in the Pālī language and simply record that such and such an article is the gift (or "meritorious gift") of so and so. The prayer that the merit of the gift may be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by the donor's parents and all sentient creatures is wanting. That prayer is found in the later inscriptions, which, like those on Dr. Hoey's statuettes, are in the Sanskrit language. The Buddhists of the earlier Hīnayāna sect used Pālī. The members of the later Mahāyāna sect used Sanskrit.

In order to show how closely the inscriptions on the statuettes follow the Kuḍā pattern, we quote No. 7 of the Kuḍā inscriptions:—

Dēyadharmōyaṁ Çākhyōpā—
sikā Vyāghrakāyā yad atra
puṇyaṁ tadbhavatu mātāpitṛpū—
rvvaṅgamaṁ kṛtvā sarvvasatvānāṁ anuttarajñā—
nāvāptayē.[1]

[1] The Kuḍā inscriptions are discussed by Dr. Burgess (assisted by Dr. Bühler) in Volume IV. of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, '*Report on the Bud-*

The inscription of the statuette of the seated Buddha (No. II.) includes (excepting the word *kṛtvā*) the portion of the formula which has been omitted from the dedication of the standing image.

This second statuette, that of the seated Buddha (Plate X), is almost destitute of merit as a work of art, and is an ordinary Indian production of conventional pattern. Buddha is exhibited squatting, with the soles of his feet turned up, and holding the little finger of his left hand between the first finger and thumb of the right hand. The shoulders are square, and the general appearance of the image resembles that of mediæval Jain statues. But, unlike the Jain images, Buddha is not nude. He is clothed in close-fitting garments, the existence of which is indicated only by the opening for the neck, and the termination of the sleeves and drawers. No attempt is made to express the folds of the clothing. The hands are stiffly and clumsily moulded, and the face is expressionless. The æsthetic demerits of the work are so striking that, if it were not inscribed, a late date might be assigned to it. But the characters of the inscription, though somewhat later in form than those on the pedestal of the standing figure, are probably not later than A.D. 400, and certainly not later than A.D. 500.

A rectangular plate, surmounted by a circular aureole, is attached to a projection at the back of the head.

The principal dimensions are:—

Height, including pedestal, to surface of top-knot ...	12″·50
Total height to top of aureole	14″·00
Height of figure, from surface of pedestal to surface of top-knot	9″·50
Diameter of aureole	5″·40

The inscription is in two lines on the front moulding only of the pedestal. (Plate IX.) Some of the letters are difficult to read, and a few are to us doubtful. The record is as follows, subject, perhaps, to some slight correction.

[1] *Deyadharmmōyaṁ Guptavaṁçōdita Çrī Hariḍāssya rajñī Mahādēvyāḥ yadatra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu.*

[2] *Sarvva satvānām mātā pitṛ pūrvāṅgamanaṁ anuttarapada jñānāvāptayē.*

dhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions.' (London, 1883) pp. 12–14, 85, 86; Plates XLV, XLVI. Nos 7, 8, 9 of Plate XLV. resemble the dedications of the statuettes in language, and to a large extent in alphabetical characters They are supposed to date from the fifth or sixth century A.D. The Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 135 (A.D. 453) has the formula *Dēyadharmōyaṁ vihārasvāminyā Dēvatāyā yadatra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu mātāpitṛōḥ sarvvasattvānāñca anuttarajñānāptayē.* (*Fleet*, p. 263.)

This seems to mean that the donor was Mahādēvī, the wife, or queen, of Çrī Hariḍāsa of the Gupta race. The name Hariḍāsa, with the cerebral *ḍ*, is curious, but it seems impossible to read the name otherwise. Many of the characters, especially those in the second line, are very rudely incised, and imperfectly formed.

The epithet *Guptavaṁçōdita*, 'sprung from the Gupta race,' or the 'race of Gupta,' is interesting. It apparently means that the donor was a member of the family of the sovereigns of the great Gupta dynasty. The words *Guptavaṁça* are most naturally translated, 'the race of Gupta,' that is to say the race of which Gupta was the progenitor. Sir Alexander Cunningham to the last (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 9) believed that the word Gupta as a proper name could not stand alone, because it was impossible that a past participle meaning 'protected' could itself be treated as a name without mention of the protecting deity. The citation by Drs. Fleet and Bühler of the names Upagupta and Upaguptā failed to change Cunningham's opinion. The dedication on the statuette is a strong confirmation of the view that the name of the progenitor of the famous dynasty was simply 'Gupta,' *i.e.*, 'protected' [by the gods], and not 'Çrī Gupta,' 'protected by Lakṣmī.'

Several of the published inscriptions use Gupta as a family name in the phrase *Guptanṛparājyabhuktau* (*Fleet*, p. 102, etc.), 'during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings.' So the Girnār inscription speaks of the 'Gupta era' (*Guptaprakāla*), and the Mōrbī inscription uses the adjective *Gaupta*. (Bühler, *on the Origin of the Gupta-Valabhi Era*, pp. 6–9.)

The English phrases 'Gupta dynasty' and 'Gupta era' are thus fully justified by Sanskrit precedent. The third statuette (No. III) is very small, about 4½ inches high, and has no pedestal. Probably a pedestal existed, which has been lost. The stand shown in the photograph (Plate XI) is a wooden one made by the owner. The aureole, of which the upper part is broken off, is arranged as an oval shield the full length of the figure. The right hand is lost. The drapery is arranged like that of the large standing figure No. I, though the attitude slightly differs. The artistic execution, though better than that of No. II, is inferior to that of No. I.

A suggestion for the second edition of Mr. Blochmann's Āīn.—By Annette S. Beveridge (*Communicated by the* Philological Secretary).

[Read, March 1895.]

Having had occasion to distinguish amongst the various *Mīraks* of Akbar's time, I have, in Mr. Blochmann's index, come across *emendanda* under the head *Mīrak*, which moreover, for clearness' sake, render some slight modifications in the text desirable. Mr. Beveridge has been so kind, by reference to the Persian, as to verify the doubts which I had gathered from the translations.

Amongst the seven entries of *Mīrak* in the index, I find that three seem to refer to the same man. One *Mīrak* is omitted and him too, I identify with the thrice-entered *amīr*.

The three first named are :—

1. Mīrak Khān Arghūn, 475 [1] (No. 208).
2. Mīrak Khān, 439.
3. Mīrak Khān Bahādur, 532.

The omission is :—

4. Mīrak Khān Jinkjank (?) 531.

The first and third of these are separately entered by a mere slip, for they refer, respectively, to the biographical notice of Mīrak Arghūn and to his name in the combined *Ṭabaqāt* and *Āīn* lists of the *amīrs*.

It is equally clear that the second and fourth names denote one individual. Turning to page 439, we find Mr. Blochmann warning us against confounding Rawazī Khān, Mīrzā Mīrak "with Mīrak Khān or with Mīrak Bahādur (208)." He writes as follows :—(Mīrak Khān) "an old grandee who died in 975." (*Ṭabaqāt.*) [2]

The words quoted are used in the original (Lakhnau edition, 385) about Mīrak Khān Jinkjank (Kinhak or Kinjak). So far as we have been able to trace, this is the only mention of *Jinkjank* or its approximate readings. Apparently then, Mr. Blochmann's Mīrak Khān (p. 439) is

[1] All references are to Mr. Blochmann's Āīn, unless otherwise assigned.

[2] The word "Ṭabaqāt" is quoted by me from Blochmann.

the *Jinkjank* of Niẓām's list (No. 99). All that is needed to make this clear in the text is to give the full name Mīrak Khān Jinkjank (?) as found at the place from which the quotation ("an old grandee, etc.,") is taken.

The next point to which attention is to be given is the identification of *Jinkjank* with *Arghūn*.

We know that the former died in 975 H., the year of Citōr. We know that the latter was killed in 975 H., in an explosion before Citōr (Mr. Blochmann's *Āīn*, 532, n. 2). This fact is recorded of No. 208 both in the *Ṭabaqāt* and by Abū-l-faẓl. It would be a curious coincidence for two *amīrs* named Mīrak to die in the same year, but this might be so. It is, however, improbable that one of these, being, as Niẓāmu-d-dīn says, "an old grandee" should not be mentioned in the detailed stories of any of the contemporary writers, beyond the bare record of his death in the *Ṭabaqāt*. This is the more improbable that he was a man of position sufficient to bring him into Niẓām's list. Of Mīrak Arghūn some facts as to service are set down in the biographical notice and he is named honourably amongst the grandees told off to Mālwā in the sixth year.[1]

Now there is no mention of "*Jinkjank*" in the *Āīn* list (531, No. 99), and curiously enough, the Lakhnau *Ṭabaqāt* does not give Mr. Blochmann's No. 115, Mīrak Khān Bahādur."[2] Perhaps some one having access to other editions of the *Ṭabaqāt* would be so kind as to look up this point and thus add to, or detract from the probability of the identification which now seems reasonable, *i.e.*, that of *Jinkjank* with *Arghūn*. It would also be useful and perhaps decisive if some understanding could be arrived at as to the word *Jinkjank* to which Mr. Blochmann appends a question mark and which the Lakhnau edition gives as *Kinhak* or *Kinjak*.[3]

Even with the knowledge available now, the identification appears reasonable. A double entry is not unknown elsewhere in Niẓām's list;—Mr. Blochmann points out that of Mu. Qāsim Khān.

Pending possible correction on the points, (1) the omission of

[1] The record of Arghūn's death has not yet found its legitimate place in his biography but awaits, in a note, the second edition.

[2] Similarly "No. 116, Shāh Mu. Qalāti" is not in the Lakhnau *Ṭabaqāt*. The omission of a man so distinguished as Qalāti, points to a printing error, especially as he is not to be found in duplicate in Niẓām's list.

[3] Since writing these notes, I have learned from Mr. Beveridge that the British Museum MS., No. 29, 209, Vol. II, p. 52, b. gives the word which in other MS. or published editions has been read as Jinkjank, Kinhak, or Kinjak quite clearly as *Jujak* جُجَک میرک خان (Mīrak Khān Jujak).

No. 115 in the Lakhnau *Ṭabaqāt*, and (2) the meaning of *Jinkjank*, I venture to suggest that the index may, under the head *Mīrak*, read in a second edition of Mr. Blochmann's *Āīn*, as follows :—

1. Mīrak Khān Bahādur Arghūn (Jinkjank ?) 429, 439, 475 (No. 208), 531, 532.

N. B.—The references to pages 429 and 531 are omitted in the existing index.

2. Mīrak Jalair, 521.
3. Mīrak Khwājah, 525.
4. Mīrak Khwājah, Chengiz Khān, 442.
5. Mīrak Mīrzā, Rawazī Khān, 438 (No. 141).

If it is justifiable to identify *Jinkjank* with *Arghūn* a slight change will follow in the text, where at page 439 and in line 15, "*or with*" should read "*that is.*" The insertion of *Arghūn* after the name *Mīrak* on pages 429, 439, 531 and 532 would be useful to readers.

Notes concerning Khwājah Muḥammad Muqīm Harawī, the father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.—*By* ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE (*Communicated by the* PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY).

[Read, March 1895.]

As everything relating to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* possesses interest, I venture to ask permission to "hang up" in the critical air of the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,—for confirmation or disproof,—a suggestion about the record of his father's life which, if verified, will be of use in a second edition of Mr. Blochmann's *Āīn*.

It appears to me that *there is good ground for believing* "*Khwājah Muqīm, the son of Mīrakī*" (525, *No.* 401), *to be the father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Khwājah Muḥammad Muqīm Harawī.*[1]

The considerations which seem to me to support my suggestion are as follows:—

(*a*) Mr. Blochmann, basing his statement on the *Akbarnāmah*, says that Khwājah Muqīm (No. 401), the son of Mīrakī, was made a *bakhshī* in 999 H.

Abū-l-faẓl names Muqīm of Khurāsān in his list of *bakhshīs* (528), and Mr. Blochmann identifies this man with the "son of Mīrakī" by prefixing "No. 401" to his name, in this list.

Niẓāmu-d-dīn says when speaking of the appointment of the *bakhshī* of 999 H. (*Ṭabaqāt*, Lakhnau ed., 374) "They appointed Khwājah Mu. Muqīm, an old family servant and who had been brought up in this Court, (*khānazād*) to the office of *bakhshī* of the army."

Of all the Muqīms of this period, there is mentioned in the various sources—so far as I have been able to trace—one man only who answers to the description given by Abū-l-faẓl and Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad of the *bakhshī* of 999 H., as being at once, a Khurāsānī, an old servant,

[1] All page references are to Mr. Blochmann's *Āīn* unless otherwise assigned.

For all the many references to the Persian which these notes have required, I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge, as well as for counsel, and the multiform help which comes from discussion of "points." For all errors, I only am responsible.

a *khānazād*, and as bearing the names Muḥammad Muqīm and the title *Khwājah*. This is the father of Niẓām,—Khwājah Mu. Muqīm Harawī.[1]

The various Muqīms of this time are as follows:—

1. Shujā'at Khān, Muqīm-i-'Arab. A Turkistānī, and died in 988 H.
2. Muqīm Khān, son of Shujā'at Khān. A Turkistānī and, early under Akbar, a Commander of 500.
3. Mīrzā Mu. Muqīm, the son of Mīrzā Zulnūn, and by marriage a cousin of the Emperor Bābar.
4. Muqīm Naqshbandī. Defeated and slain in Gujrāt, in 983 H.
5. Muqīm a "Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse;"—a relation of Āṣaf Khān III. Ja'far Bēg Qazwīnī (413, (*Pādishāhnāmah*, I, part 2, 328). The word which Mr. Blochmann renders "relation" is *khwēsh*. I can find nothing to decide whether Muqīm was a blood-relation and therefore perhaps a Qazwīnī, or a son-in-law of Ja'far Bēg. So that on the ground of descent there is, so far, nothing to prevent him from being No. 401. He is called Shāhjāhānī in Mr. Blochmann's index. If this implies that his best days were lived under Shāhjāhān, it makes, to some slight extent, against his being the *bakhshī* of 999 H., the said *bakhshī* being an old servant in 999 H. and the year of Shāhjāhān's accession being 1037 H. Very little, however, can be built on the consideration that No. 401 would have been an old man in 1037 H., for some of the *amīrs* of these days rivalled modern statesmen in their sustained capacity for holding office. Perhaps some student of the sources for Shāhjāhān's reign could tell something about this Muqīm.
6. Khwājah Muḥammad Muqīm Harawī (420, 421). A Khurāsānī, a servant of Bābar, Humāyūn and Akbar;—and possibly a *khānazād*[2]—at any rate young in the service of Bābar.
7. Khwājah Muḥammad Muqīm, the son of Mīrakī (525, No. 401). A Khurāsānī, an old servant of the State in 999 H.—and a *khānazād*. He was a Commander of Two Hundred.

(*b*) To entitle Muqīm *Bakhshī* to be called an old servant of the State in 999 H., he must have been a contemporary of Harawī for, at the least, the greater part of the 36 years of Akbar's reign antecedent to his appointment. If my suggestion that the Harawī of the earlier chronicling is the Muqīm *Bakhshī* of later record, be wrong, some curious coincidences must be faced. Both these men (supposing they were two), were Khurāsānīs;—Muqīm *Bakhshī* was a *khānazād*, Harawī was a dependent of Bābar (Elliot V, 178) if not literally a *khānazād*;—both bore the names Muḥammad Muqīm and the title *Khwājah*.[3]

[1] Harāt was until recently, the capital of Khurāsān. (Gazetteer of India.)

[2] The grounds for this are briefly indicated later on, in these notes (para. (*f*).)

[3] Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar calls Muqīm *Bakhshī* indifferently *Khwājah* and *Khān*, but I cannot find that the latter rank was ever bestowed on him. He seems to have ended his career as a leader of Two Hundred.

Their records do not overlap and they never appear on the scene together. Harawī vanishes from the record in 981 H., Mīrakī appears in 988 H. Moreover—and this is certainly a consideration of much weight—both men filled similar or identical offices. Harawī was a *dīwān*, a *vazir*, an *amīn*: the son of Mīrakī an *amīn*, a *wāqi'ah nawīs*, a *bakhshī* and a *dīwān*. That there should have been two contemporaries, so alike in circumstance and whose character and rank fitted them to fill the same class of appointments would certainly be singular.

(*c*) Two questions present themselves which contribute something in favour of my suggestion. The record of the "old servant," Muqīm *Bakhshī* begins in 998 H. What was his past?

The most important office named as filled by Harawī under Akbar was that of *amīn* in Sindh, in 981 H. What were the "high offices" which the *Maāṣir* tells us, he held under Akbar? (Elliot V, 178. *Maāṣir* under Muqīm's name.)

(*d*) I have emphasized the fact that the two men bore the same names and title and it should now be noticed that more weight might be due to the conjunction of "Muḥammad" with "Muqīm," if any other Muqīm of this time could be found bearing any other second name than Muḥammad! 'Abū-l-faẓl names them all, short,—Muqīm;—Jahāngīr does the same; so too Bābar. Niẓām[1] gives the Muḥammad to three—those to whom I have given it.

(*e*) It is a slight contribution in favour of my suggestion, perhaps, that the index to the *Akbarnāmah* (Bib. Ind.) places all the incidents which concern both Harawī and the "son of Mīrakī," under the heading, "Muqīm *Bakhshī*." The maker of the index must have possessed some guiding clue for this arrangement, as well as for the omission under this heading, of scattered incidents which concern other Muqīms.

(*f*) A lengthened search has yielded no information about the Mīrakī who is set down as the father of Muqīm *Bakhshī* (525).[2]

Possibly the word *Mīrakī* may not be a name, but may imply that Muqīm's father held a petty office. If so, this would give fuller meaning to the epithet "*khānazād*" applied to the *Bakhshī* by Niẓām and might indicate that like Niẓām (who speaks of himself as a *khānazād*) the "son of *Mīrakī*" was born in the royal service. This would—granting the correctness of my suggestion,—explain how it was that Harawī entered Bābar's service so young and was called a "dependent."

[1] The passages in which he names his father in full are to be found in the *Ṭabaqāt* (Lakhnau ed. preface, and at page 374).

[2] The results of this search are published above, pp. 163 & ff.

If my suggestion survives examination, the biographical notice of No. 401 (525) should include, at least the following items:—

Khwājah Muḥammad Muqīm of Khurāsān (*Harawī.*) Son of Kh. Mīrakī. Descendant of the great saint of Harāt, Kh. 'Abdullah 'Anṣarī (*Ṭabaqāt*, Erskine's MS., British Museum. Ricu's Catalogue, 1,220). Brother-in-law of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Aubahī. (435, 533.) Father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. Brought up in Bābar's household;—employed in the *Dīwānī-i-buyūtāt* of Bābar;—instrumental in securing the succession to Humāyūn by repeating to Mīr Khalīfah, the threat uttered by Mahdī Khwājah against him, just before the death of Bābar (*Ṭabaqāt*, Lakhnau ed. 374);—*vazīr* to 'Askarī in Gujrāt 941 H.;—at Chauṇsā with 'Askarī, and one of the few troopers who escaped with Humāyūn to Āgrā, 946 H.;—at Kanauj with 'Askarī, 947 H.;—Niẓām born about 953 H.;—employed in "Government" business in Āgrā, 974 H. (Elliot V. 317)—an *amīn* near Bhakkar and counselling loyalty to the son of Mīr Khalīfah, Muḥibb 'Alī, 981 H.;—with 'Azīz Kōkah in Bengal 988 H.;—returns to Court with 'Azīz, 991 H.;—in Bengal as *amīn* and *wāqi'ah navīs* and shut up in Ghōrāghāṭ with Ṭāhir Saifu-l-mulūk 992 H. (Abū-l-faẓl speaks of him as a "jewel of sagacity and courage" at this point);—*bakhshī* to the armies of Ṣadiq Khān Harawī and Ismā'īl Qulī Khān in Multān, 994 H.;—*bakhshī* to 'Abdu-r-rahīm Khān-khānān in Sindh, 999 H.;—*dīwān* of Multān and commissioned to forward to Court the reports of his eleven colleagues—*dīwāns* of the Empire, 1003 H.;—death of Niẓām 1003 H.*

The term of life necessary to cover the events recapitulated in this tentative biographical notice, is not beyond the bounds of probability and is far from being unexampled amongst the contemporaries of Muqīm *Bakhshī*. 'Azīz Kōkah died at 84, having been made *atālīq* to Prince Dāwar Bakhsh when 83. Mihtar Khān lived to be 84 and died holding a Command of Three Thousand. Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān Muftī died in 1020 H., and was believed to be 120 years old. Jahāngīr promoted him to be a Chahār-hazārī, twenty years or thereabouts before his death. Muḥibb 'Alī was a fighting man under Bābar and died in 989 H. Peshrau Khān was, according to Jahāngīr, an excellent servant and smarter than many a young man, at the age of 90.

* Elliot says (V. 178) that Harawī is spoken of in Bābar's Memoirs. If so, his name has escaped a thrice-repeated search through the Memoirs. A Muqīm figures there frequently, but this is the son of Mīrzā Zulnūn and son-in-law of Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg, Bābar's cousin. In a supplemental chapter (Memoirs of Bābar, 428) Mr. Erskine relates the story of Mahdī Khwājah and Muqīm Harawī. It is interesting to find that at the time he quoted the welcome passage, he did not know the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The first fixed date in Muqīm Harawī's life is *Jumāda* I. 974 H. (1530). Its last is 1003 H. (1594), a period of 64 years. Of the date of his death, I know nothing; Niẓām rarely names his father, as such, and does not chronicle his own joys and sorrows, so that nothing certain can be gathered from his silence.

There are indications—too slight to carry weight without a long criticism of the story of Mahdī Khwājah's threat against Mīr Khalīfah—which point to Harawī's being a young man at the time it concerns, *viz.* 974H. If the story had been written down in or near 974 H., there must have been set against these indications of youth, those of adult wisdom contained in the advice offered by Harawī when he reported to Mīr Khalīfah the threat against him which he had overheard from the mouth of the Khwājah. But the record is of much later date, and was made when Harawī and Niẓām were both grave men. Possibly the wisdom is a reflection of maturer years; it was certainly not needed as an argument against Mahdī's succession by the man he threatened and in whose power it lay to raise him to the throne or—as was done—to pass him by. One doubts too, if any *dīwān-i-buyūtāt*—whatever the number of his years—would have ventured to argue with the "pillar of Bābar's Empire" as to anything he had proposed to himself to do, but even the youngest servant might have reported a speech which betokened treachery to one of his master, Bābar's, most trusted adherents.

Summing up the points as to Muqīm Harawī's age, it seems to me that if he did not long survive 1003 H. and was a young man in 974 H. his whole career may well have been one of under ninety years.

Mogul Copper Coins.—*By* C. J. Rodgers, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.*

With twelve plates.

[Read July, 1895.]

I have already written three papers on the Copper Coins of Akbar, two in this *Journal* and one in the *Indian Antiquary*. In the Indian Museum are many coins of Akbar and of other Mogul Emperors. There is a vast collection of Mogul Copper Coins in the Lahore Museum. The catalogues of the coins in these two museums are ready and can be studied.

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole in the preface to the British Museum Catalogue of Mogul Coins says, "The rarest of all Mogul Coins are those of copper." This sentence should read, "The rarest of all Mogul Coins, *in the British Museum*, are those of copper." It was a mistake to regard the British Museum Mogul Coins as a representative collection. It had in it forty copper coins only. Now my papers should have given an inkling as to the numbers of Mogul Copper Coins obtainable. My catalogue of the Lahore Museum coins (purchased from me by the Panjab Government) shows how numerous the copper coins of many Mogul Emperors are. The truth is that these copper Mogul coins are so uncouth in shape and the legends on them are so fragmentary, that numismatists have neglected them and collectors have despised them. But of late some kind and sensible correspondents of mine have paid attention to them. I live in the Panjab, and as I get no pay I cannot go about hunting for coins in other provinces. But the Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, D.D., of Aḥmadābād, R. F. Malabarwala, Esq., and C. E. Kotwal, Esq., of Bombay, Major Adam Smith of Poonah, and the Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A., of Kodaikanal, Madura District, have kindly sent up to me some of the results of their research, and the consequence has been that with their aid and with the assistance of the Amritsar bazaar, I have been able to put together the drawings in the accompanying twelve plates. The coins are therein arranged in no special order, but

were drawn as they came into my hands. As some few copper of Jahāngīr in the Lahore Museum seemed rare if not unique, I obtained permission from the curator to draw them. Ten years ago in Simla, I drew two coins of Shāh Jahān that were in General Cunningham's collection. These are 22 and 23 of Plate XIII.

It will be seen that the coins of Aḥmadābād are very fully shown. Nearly all these are the results of Dr. Taylor's research. One coin No. 144 of Pl. XXIII, was obtained by me the day on which I finished that plate. So that it will be seen the plates represent the result of united labour. I heartily thank my fellow workers for their help. Without it I could not possibly have produced this paper.

I will now go through the coins and transcribe, as far as I can, the legends on them.

PLATE XII.

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(1)*	اکبر شاہی	Akbar Shāhī	امرداد (الہی)	Amardād month
	(چ)و تانکے	Four Tānkē piece	۵۰ احمد اباد ضرب	Aḥmadābād 50th year.
(2)	(ا)کبر (شاہی)	do.	شہریور (الہی)	Shahrēwar month
	(چو) تانکے		۴۹ احمد اباد ضرب	Aḥmadābād 49th year.
(3)	شا(ہ) سلیمی	Shāh Salīmī	— — — (الہی)	.....month
	(د)و تانکے	Two Tānke piece	احمد اباد ضرب	Aḥmadābād ... year.
(4)		do.	اذر الہی	Azr month
	شا(ہ) سلیمی	Four Tānkē piece	۵(۰) احمد اباد ضرب	Aḥmadābād 50th year.
	(چ)و تانکے			
(5)	اکبر شا(ہی)	Akbar Shāhī	تیر (الہی)	Tīr month
	چ(و) تانکے	Four Tānkē piece	۴۹ احمد اباد ضرب	Aḥmadābād 49th year.

* The weights are given under the coins on the plate. M. = Mr. Malabarwalla: TA. = The Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, D.D.: K. = Mr. Kotwal: A. C. = General Sir Alexander Cunningham: L. M. = Lahore Museum: A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal; C. J. R. = Author: TR. = Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A.

(6)	تنکه اکبر شاهے ضرب احمد اباد (نیم)	(Half) Tanka of Akbar Aḥmadābād	۴۴ الهے ابان	44th year Ābān month.
(7)	تنکه اکبر شاهے ضرب احمد اباد	Tanka of Akbar Aḥmadābād	۴۶ الهے اردي بهشت	46th year Ardībihisht month
(8)	تنکه اکبر شاهے ضرب احمد اباد چهارم حصه	¼ Tanka of Akbar Aḥmadābād	۴۵ (الهے) تیر	45th year. Tīr month.
(9)	———	(⅛th Tanka of Akbar)	———	— — — —
	احمد اباد هشتم حصه	Aḥmadābād	تیر	Tīr month.
			(بهشت)	
(10)	اکبر شاهے دو تانکے	Akbar Shāhī Two Tānkē piece	(ا)ردي الهے ع احمد اباد	Ardībihisht month Aḥmadābād.
(11)	روا(نے) ۲ سنه	Rawānē 2nd year of Jahāngīr	احمد اباد س فلو ۱۰۱۶	Aḥmadābād Fulūs 1016 H.
(12)	روا (نے) ۶ — — —	do. 6th year of Jahāngīr	This side was like (11) but year ۱۰۱۹	1019 H.
(13)	روا (نے) — —	do. No year	as on (11) no year Aḥmadābād Fulūs.	

PLATE XIII.

(14)	جهانگیر ے فلوس سنه ۸	Jahāngīrī Fulūs, 8th year	آگره ضرب ۱۰۲۲ سنه	Āgra 1022 H.
(15)	ابوالمظفر — — — — — فلوس ...	Part of legend on dām of Islām Shāh Sūrī	Part of legend on (14) and part of legend on reverse of Islām Shāh Sūrī.	

(16)	روانے ۴ سنه	Rawānē 4th year of Jahāngīr	بیرات ضرب	Bairāt.
(17)	شد روان	It became Rawān (current)	۱۰۲۲ قندهار فلوس	Qandahār Fulūs 1022.
(18)	جهانگیر ۶ے عدل	Jahāngīrī, 6th year 'Adl	کابل فلوس	Kābul Fulūs.
(19)	جهانگیر روان ۹	Jahāngīrī Rawān, 9th year	اجمیر ضرب ۱۰۲۴ سنه	Ajmīr 1024 H.
(20)	۴ سنه رایج	4th year Rāij (Current)	۱۰۱۸ سنه ضرب آگره	1018 H. Āgra.
(21)	نیم رایج	Half a Rāij	دهلي ضرب	Dehlī.
(22)	شاه جهانے فلوس ۲۹	Shāhjahānī Fulūs, 29th year	سنه ۱۰۶۵ هجر بیرات ضرب	1065 Hijrī Bairāt.
(23)	شاه جهانے فلوس	do., no year	۱۶ سنه پتنه ضرب	16th year Patna.
(24)	اورنگ شاهي فلوس	Aurangshāhī Fulūs	ملتان (ضو)ب ۱۰۷۳	Multān 1073 H.
(25)	سنه مبارک جلوس	Year Blessed of accession	لاهور ضرب (۱۰)۷۵	Lāhōr (10) 75 H.

PLATE XIV.

(26)	شاہ جہانے فلوس	As on (23)	ابان ماہ الٰہی احمد ابا د ضرب ۱۰۴۲	Abān month Aḥmadābād 1042 H.
(27)	do.	do.	ماہ مہر الٰہی احمد ابا د ۱۰۴۱	Mihr month Aḥmadābād 1041 H.
(28)	do.	do.	مہر ماہ الٰہی (ضر)ب احمد ابا د	Mihr month Aḥmadābād no year.
(29)	شاہ جہانے فلوس ۶	Shāhjahānī Fulūs, 6th year.	اسفندارمز ضرب احمد ابا د	Isfandārmuz Aḥmadābād no year.
(30)	شاہ جہانے فلوس ۱۰	Shāhjahānī Fulūs, 10th year	احمد ابا د (ضر)ب ۱۰۴۶	Aḥmadābād 1046 H.
(31)	اکبر شاہ ۱۲۳۳ فلوس	Akbar Shāh II. 1233 H. Fulūs.	۱۲ جلوس سنہ احمد ابا د	12th year Aḥmadābād.
(32)	جہانگیرے فلوس ۱۵	Jahāngīrī Fulūs, 15th year.	سورت ضرب سنہ ۱۰۲۸	Sūrat 1028 H.
(33)	شاہ جہانے فلوس	Shāhjahānī Fulūs.	سورت ۲۸ سنہ ضرب	Sūrat 28th year.
(34)	do.	do.	do., year ۱۶	Sūrat 16th year
(35)	(رفیع الدرجا ت (فلوس)	Rafi'u-d-darajāt (Fulūs.)	احد سنہ جلوس ضرب	1st year no mint (probably Sūrat.)

(36)	محمد شاه شـــاه فلوس باد ۱۱۳۲	Fulūs of Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh, 1132.	سنه جلوس ضرب سورت	year —— Sūrat.
(37)	جهانگیر ـــــــے	Jahāngīrī	سنه ..... اودیپور ضرب	year —— Ūdaipūr.
(38)	ـــــــے جها شاه	Shāhjahāuī	اجین ضرب	Ujain.

PLATE XV.

(39)	۱۰۸۴ سنه شاه جهان اباد ضرب	1084 H. Shāhjahānābād	۱۷ سنه مبارک جلوس	17th year.
(40)	– –۰۷۸ rest as on (39)	1078 H. Shāhjahānābād	۱۱ سنه rest as on (37)	11th year.
(41)	عالم گیر (زیب) شـــاه فلوس ۱۱۰۷ او (ر) نگ	Fulūs of Aurangzēb Shāh ʻĀlamgīr 1007 H.	———	———
(42)	عالم گیر ۱۱۰۷ نگ – – –	as on (41), but less	———	———
(43)	عالم گیر شـــا(ه) (فلو)س ۱۱۰۸ او (ر) نگ	as on (41), but year 1108 H.	———	———
(44)	———	———	ملتان ضرب جلوس مبارک ۴۰	Multān. 40th year.

(45)	سنه نار نول ضرب	Year— Nārnōl	سنه مبارک جلوس	Blessed year— of accession.
(46)	do.	do.	do.	do.
(47)	سنه ننار ضرب	Year ———	do.	do.
(48)	do.	do	do.	do.
(49)	سورت ضرب سنه — —	Sūrat Year—	اورنگ (شاهے) ۱۰۸۳ فلوس	Aurangshāhī Fulūs 1083 H.
(50)	حید (ر) اباد ۱ سنه ۱۱۰۸	Ḥaidarābād 1108 H.	مبارک جلوس ۴۱	Blessed year 41 of accession.
(51)	۱۱۱۳ ضرب	mint not read 1113 H.	مبارک جلوس ۴۵	Blessed year 45 of accession.
(52)	فلوس ایلچپور	Fulūs of Êlicpūr, 2nd year	باد شاه (شاه عالم) ۱۱۲۰	Bādshāh Shāh 'Âlam 1120 H.

PLATE XVI.

(53)	عالم گیر مبارک جلوس	The blessed accession of 'Ālamgīr	۳۰ سنه بشولا پور ضرب	30th year Shōlāpūr.
(54)	عالم شـــاه مبارک جلوس	The blessed accession of Shāh 'Ālam I	۵ سنه شولا پور ضرب	5th year Shōlāpūr.
(55)	do.	do.	do.	do.
(56)	as on (53)		سنه کلبرگه ضرب	year— Gulburga.
	اورنگ زیب ۱۰۸۳ (شاهے) فلوس J. 1. 23	Fulūs of Aurangzēb (Shāh) 1083	۱۵ سورت ضرب سنه	Sūrat 15th year.

(58)	۱۴ سنه مبارک جلوس	14th year of the Blessed Accession	سنه سورت ضرب	year Sūrat.
(59)	زیب اورنگ ـــــه شـــا	Aurangzēb Shāhī	سورت سنه ۴ ضرب	Sūrat 4th year.
(60)	اورنگ (زیب) ـــــــه فلوس شا	Fulūs of Aurangzēb Shāh	سورت سنه ۱۰ – – –	Sūrat 10th year.
(61)	سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر ۱۱۰۴	Parts of this couplet only 1104 H.	سـا ؟ ضرب جلوس مبارک سنه	The Blessed Accession year ?
(62)	as on (60)	———	سنه دارالظفر بیجا پور	Year ? The gate of Victory Bījāpūr.
(63)	محمد شاه باد شاه (۱۱)۳۵	Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh 1135 H.	فلوس ایلچپور ۴	Fulūs of Ēlicpūr 4th year.
(64)	do., but year ۱۱۶ ؟	———	As on (63), but no year	———

PLATE XVII.

(65)	سنه لکهنو ضرب	Year Lucknow	سنه مبارک جلوس	Year —— The Blessed Accession.
(66)	۷ سنه اکبر اباد ضرب	Year 7 Akbarābād	۷ سنه مبارک جلوس	7th year of the Blessed Accession.

(69)	Gold as on (61), but مهر instead of بدر		ضرب جلوس	———
(70)	لاهور ضرب	Lāhōr	۱۷ ؟ سنه مبارک جلوس	17th year, &c.
(71)	لاهور ضرب ۱۰۷۴	Lāhōr 1074 H.	۷ سنه مبارک جلوس	7th year, &c.
(72)	سنه لاهور ضرب	Lāhōr	سنه مبارک جلوس	——year, &c.
(73)	لاهور (ضر) ب	Lāhōr	سنه مبارک جلوس	do.
(74)	سنه بیرات ضرب	Bairāt	do.	do.
(75)	بیرات ضرب	do.	do.	do.
(76)	احد جلوس ضرب	1st year of Accession	(مبا)رک عا(لم)گیر شاه فلوس	A blessed fulūs of ʻĀlamgīr Shāh.
(77)	گلهانه ضرب	Mint ? Gulhāta or Gulhānna ?	as on (73).	———

PLATE XVIII.

(78)	سنه (فر)خ سیر	Farrukhsiyar	جلوس ؟ ددللو	———
(79)	(ف)رخ سیر باد شاه ۲۵(۱۱)	Farrukhsiyar Bādshāh 1125 H.	س ضرب	———

(80)	فرخ سیر	Farrukhsiyar	؟ ندالو س ب	———
(81)	فرخ سیر شـــاه	Farrukhsiyar	؟ بلدا ۴ سنه (جلو) س ضرب	4th year.
(82)	ک سکه مبار	———	سنه فلوس ایلچپور	Fulūs of Ēlicpūr.
(83)	Quadruped to l.	———	ایلچپور ضرب	Ēlicpūr mint.
(84)	تنکه اکبرشاهے	– – part of a Tanka of Akbar	۳۹ الهے ضر (ب) بیرات	39th year Bairāt.
(85)	عالمگیر (فلو)س	ʿĀlamgīr Fulūs	۱۱۱ میلاپور ضرب	year 111– Mailapūr.
(86)	محمد شاهے فلوس ۱۱۵۹	Fulūs of Muḥammad Shāh 1159 H.	اباد جهان شاه ضرب ۲۹	Shāhjahānābād 29th year.
(87)	محمد شاه ۱۱۳۵	Muḥammad Shāh 1135 H.	(ضر) ب کابل سنه	Kābul, year—
(88)	محمد شاه باد شاه غازے فلوس ۱۱۳۳	Fulūs of Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh Ghāzī 1133 H.	ملتان ضرب جلوس مبارک ۳	Multān struck in the 3rd year of the Blessed Accession.
(89)	عالم گیر شاه فلوس باد	Fulūs of ʿĀlamgīr Bādshāh	۱۶ سنه کتک ضرب	16th year, Cuttack.

PLATE XIX.

(90)	(عا)لمگیر (با) د شاه غا (ز)	ʻĀlamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī	٦ سنه ضرب حا فظابار	Year 6, Ḥāfiẓābād.
(91)	سنه (صبا) رک جلوس		١١١٨ سنه عظیم اباد ضرب	Year 1118 H. ʻAẓīmābād.
(92)	٤٠ سنه مبارک جلوس	40th year of, &c.	٨ (١١٠) سنه کابل	1108 year H. Kābul.
(93)			١٠٦٨ سنه نارنول (ضر) ب	1068 H. Nārnōl.
(94)			٧٤(١٠) سنه نارنول ضرب	1074 Nārnōl.
(95)	صاحب قران ثاني	Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān Ṣānī	بیرات (ضر)ب سنه ١٠٤٨	Baīrāt 1048 H.
(96)	شاه جها (ن)	Shāh Jahān	١٠٤١ جلوس ٨	1041 ?
(97)	احمد شاه باد شاه غاز فلوس	Fulūs of Aḥmad Shāh Bādshāh Ghāzī	ملتان ضرب مبارک ١٠ جلوس	Multān 10th year, &c.
(98)	احمد شاه بادشاه ک (سکه صبار)	Aḥmad Shāh Bādshāh	جلوس احد ضرب پشاور	Struck at Peshawar, 1st year of accession.

(99)	عالم گیر ۱۱۷۲ ک سکه مبار	Blessed coin of 'Alamgīr II. 1172 H.	لاهوره ب فلوس ضر	Fulūs of Lāhōr, 5th year.
(100)	As on (۹۹) but no year.		As on (۹۹)	——
(101)	عالم گیر فلوس ۱۱۶۷	Fulūs of 'Alamgīr II. 1168 H.	شاه جهان اباد احد ضرب	Shāhjahānābād, 1st year.
(102)	As on (101) but year. ۱۱۶۹	do., but year 1169 H.	As on (101) but year ۲	do. 2nd year.

PLATE XX.

(103)	جهانسي ضرب fish	Jhānsī	عالم شا ۱۲۱۳ هے فلوس	'Ālamshāhī 1213 H. Fulūs.
(104)	دامله ضرب	Dāmlā	۱۲۱۰ شاهے ---هے	do. 121—H.
(105)	ناهن ضرب ۳۱	Nāhan 31st year	فلوس شا عالم	——
(106)	بابولد (ضر) ب ص	?	—— باد شاه	Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh
(107)	فرخ نگر (ضر) ب	Farrukhnagar	عالم شاهے ۱۲۱۴	'Alamshāhī 1214 H.
(108)	اباد حسين (۱۱) ۷۸	Ḥusainābād 1178 H.	شاه عالمے فلوس ۷۸ --	Fulūs of Shāh 'Ālam.
(109)	اکبر اباد ضرب فلوس	Akbarābād Fulūs	شاه عالم ——ے باد شاه غاز	Fragments of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzi.

(110)	اسلام اباد ضرب فلوس ۷۷ (۱۱)	Islāmābād Fulūs 1177 H.	باد شاه غاز	———
(111)	ضوب (J.) W. H. (فلو)س ۴۳	Fulūs J. W. H. 43rd year.	۱۲۱۷ باد شاه ک سکه مبار	1217 H Blessed coin of Bādshāh .....
(112)	یون یلد ضرب فلوس ۳۶	? Fulūs 36th year.	شاه عالم ے ۱۲ باد شا غاز ک سکه مبار	Blessed coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī.
(113)	نجیب اباد ضرب ۱۱ سنه	Najībābād 11th year.	عالم شا ۱۱۸۳ ھے فلوس	Fulūs of 'Ālam Shāh 1183 H.
(114)	نجیب اباد ضرب ۴۳ سنه	Najībābād. 43rd year.	عالم شا ۱۲۱۶ ھے فلوس	do. year 1216 H.

PLATE XXI.

(115)	عالم شا ۱۲۱۴ فلوس	Fulūs of 'Ālam Shāh 1214 H.	سهارنپور ضرب ۴۱ سنه	Sahāranpūr 41st year.
(116)	do.	do.	do., year ۴۲ and fish.	do. 42nd year.
(117)	do., ۱۲۱۸	do. 1218 H.	do., year ۴۴	do. 44th year.
(118)	do., ۱۲۱۵	do. 1215 H.	do., year ۴۲	do. 42nd year.

(119)	شاه عالم ـــــــ ۱۲۱ - باد شاه غاز ک سکه مبار	Blessed coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī 121(8)	مومن اباد ضرب فلوس ۴ (۴)	Mōminābād 44th year.
(120)	(شاه عالم) باد شا (ه)	Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh	زریب ضرب ۳۸	——— 38th year.
(121)	محمد اکبر ۱۲۲۱ باد شاه	Muḥammad Akbar 1221 H. Bādshāh	اکبر اباد Pistol (فلو)س احد	Akbarābād pistol fulūs 1st year.
(122)	محمد اکبر با —— - - - -	Muḥammad Akbar Bā(dshāh)	سنه جلوس ضرب گوالیار	Gwālīār.
(123)	اکبر شاهی ۱۲۲۲ فلوس	Falūs of Akbar Shāh II. 1222 H.	اباد جهان شـــاه احد ضرب	Shāhjahānābād 1st year.
(124)	do.	do.	do., but year ۲	do. 2nd year.
(125)	do. ۱۲۲۵	do. year 1225 H.	do., but S ۴	do. 4th year.
(126)	do. (۱۲)۲۶	do. year 1226 H.	do. and سنه ۶	do. 6th year.

PLATE XXII.

(127)	شاه عالم شاهی فلوس ۱۲۰۶	Fulūs of Shāh 'Ālam Shāh 1206 H.	(اباد) جهان شـــاه ضرب ۳۴	Shāhjahānābād 34th year.
(128)	عالم شاهی س	Fulūs 'Ālam Shāh	شاه جهان اباد ۳۲	do. 32nd year.

(129)	عالم (شا) ۱۲۰۶ھ فلوس	do. year 1206 H.	do. ۳۳	do. 33rd year.
(130)	عالم شاھے ۱۲۴ فلوس	do. year 124 for 1174	do. احد	do. 1st year.
(131)	(عالم) شاھے ۱۱۲۵ سنه	ʿĀlam Shāh 1125 H.?!	do. ۳۳	do. 33rd year.
(132)	عالم شا ۱۲۰۸ھ فلوس	Fulūs of ʿĀlam Shāh 1208 H.	do. ۲۵	do. 35th year.
(133)	——— ۱۲۱ – د شاه عا	121– H.	اکبر اباد ضرب فلوس pistol	Akbarābād pistol fulūs.
(134)	do.	do.	do.	do.
(135)	——— ۱۲۱۷ باد شا	1217 H.	———	No mint pistol and fish.
			pistol fish ضرب	
(136)	——— عالم باد ـــے ——— عاز		بندر (بن) ضرب ۲۷ سنه	Bindraban 27th year.
(137)	——— ۱۲۱۱ شـــاه	1211 H.	Kitār in س of فلوس	Bhartpūr ?
(138)	شا (با) شاه غاز		ضوب Fish]Trisūl	?

PLATE XXIII.

(139)	الور فلوس ضرب	Fulūs of Alwar.	(هفت) شصت نهصد ۹۶۷ فی	7 60 900 967 H.

(140)	کلانور فلوس ضرب	Kalānaur fulūs.	۳۷ الٰہی شہر یور	37th Ilahī Shahrēwar (month).
(141)	شاہ غازے جہان باد شـــ(ا ہ)	Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī	لکھنو (ضر) ب فلوس	Lucknow Fulūs.
(142)	فلوس فتحپور	Fulūs of Fatḥpūr.	شش ھشناد نہصد	6 80 900 } 986 H.
(143)	۱۱۰۰ شـــاہ باد شاہ ـــے غاز	1100 ? ! Shāh ʻAlam Bādshāh Ghāzī	۱ انہ ضرب کلکتہ	One ānna Calcutta.
(144)	جہاندار شاہے فلوس ۴ (۱۱۲)	Fulūs of Jahāndār Shāh	دارالملک ضرب کابل احد	Dāru-l-mulk Kābul 1st year.
(145)	محمد شاہ باد شا(ہ)	Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh.	ضرب (فلو) س ایلچپور	Fulūs of Ēlicpūr.
(146)	بیدرگ یاگوف گ ف بیدروا گو	Fragment of رنگ تیغ و فتح و نصرت بے درنگ یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگھ	نجیب اباد ضرب ۴۷ ۴۰	Najībābād 47 or 40th year.
(147)	۱۲۰۶ ـــد شاہ ک سکہ مبار	1206 Blessed coin of	بندر بن ضرب فلوس	Bandraban Fulūs.
(148)	شاہ غا فلوس	Shāh ʻĀlam fulūs	———	Mint not plain.
(149)	In hexagon اکبر	Akbar	رایج نگر ۹۹۴	" Current." Nagar 994 H.
(150)	دارالضرب قلع اگرہ	The Mint of the Fort Āgra	۹۳۶ في تاریخ سنہ	Year date 936 H.

In all this long list of Mogul Coins there is not one that has been drawn before that I am aware of. Coins (1), (2), and (4) are four tānkē pieces of Akbar from the Aḥmadābād mint. (3) is a two tānkē piece of Salīm Shāh and (4) a four tānkē piece of the same prince. (6) is a half tanka of Akbar, and (7) is a full tanka. Going by weights, (8) is a quarter tanka, and (9) the 8th part of a tanka, (10) is another two tankō piece of Akbar's. What (11), (12) and (13) were intended for I do not know. They look like novelties introduced by Jahāngīr in the beginning of his reign. We know that he upset the value of mohurs and rupees by increasing to Akbar's system.

The coins on Plate XIII. show other vagaries of Jahāngir. (14) and (15) are struck on old Sūrī dāms. (14) shows this a little, but (15) plainly. (17) is a Qandahār coin and (18) is a Kābul one. Both have irregular weights. (19) is a Rawān (20) is a Rāij and (21) is a half rāij, from the Ajmīr, Āgra and Dehlī mints respectively. (14)-(21) are all from my collection now in the Lahore Museum. (22) is a lovely fulūs of Shāhjahān of the Bairāt mint. It is of the weight of a dām. (23) is also a fulūs of Shāhjahān, but its irregular weight shows that changes had commenced in the copper coinage. Both these coins were in the cabinet of General Sir Alexander Cunningham when I drew them. (24) and (25) are a Multān and a Lāhōr fulūs of Aurangzēb of various weights (25) being half of (24).

On Plate XIV. (26) and (27) are dāms of Shāhjahān from the Aḥmadābād mint. (28) and (30) are evidently half dāms. All are styled fulūs on the coins themselves. (31) is a strange coin of Akbar II. with the name of the Aḥmadābād mint on it. I obtained one like this in the Kāngra Valley in 1886. (32) is a dām of Jahāngīr's from the Sūrat mint: (33) and (34) are dāms from the same mint in the time of Shāh Jahān. (35) is evidently a fulūs of Rafī'u-d-darajāt's and (36) one of Muḥammad Shāh's from the same mint. From all this it is evident that Mogul copper coins were not scarce either at Sūrat or Aḥmadābād. (37) is a dām of Jahāngīr's from the Udaipūr mint, (38) is a copper coin of Shāhjahān from the Ujain mint conforming to the Mālwa currency in shape and weight.

On Plate XV. all the coins are of Aurangzēb except the last, (52) (39) and (40) are from the Shāhjahānābād mint and exhibit dates, (41)-(44) are from the mint at Multān, (45) and (46) are from Nārnōl. I have a lot of these and all are without dates except two I was fortunate enough to find while this paper was in progress. I give them on Plate VIII.—(93) and (94). They are both dated. (47) and (48) puzzle me. They are evidently Aurangzēb's coins, but I cannot read the mint; (49) is a Sūrat coin, (50) one from Ḥaidarābād, as is also

I think (51). The date on (52) makes it an Ēlicpūr coin of Shāh ʻĀlam I.

Plate XVI. opens with a Shōlāpūr fulūs of Aurangzēb, which is followed by (54) and (55) of the 5th year of Shāh ʻĀlam I. from the same mint. (56) is an Aurangzēb fulūs from the Kulburga mint, (57)–(61) are our fulūs of different styles and weights from the Sūrat mint of Aurangzēb. It will be noticed that (59) comes up to the dām standard and (60) is half a dām. The mint of (61) with its rupee inscription I have not been able to read, but (62) is from the Bījāpūr mint, (63) is a heavy coin of Muḥammad Shāh's from the Ēlicpūr mint. It is nearly the weight of a dām, (64) is probably of the same king and is from the same mint.

Plate XVII. deals also with the coins of Aurangzēb. (65) is of the Lucknow mint while (66) is from Akbarābād (Āgra), (67) and (68) are from Sūrat, (69) is a small gold coin of Aurangzēb which came into my hands for a day when I was drawing this plate, (70) to (73) are all different varieties from the Lāhōr mint, (74) and (75) I assign to Bairāt, (76) is doubtful as to mint, and the mint name on (77) I have not yet made out. There is no doubt about the king who struck all these coins. The years tell us, and they help us to assign dateless coins by showing us the peculiar style of Aurangzēb's copper coins,—the letters are mixed up strangely but only on the copper coins of Aurangzēb in this style.

Plate XVIII. opens with four coins (78)–(81) of Farrukhsiyar. The mint of (81) may be Sūrat. They all came to me from my Bombay friends Messrs. Malabarwalla and Kotwal. (82) is an Ēlicpūr coin, but I don't know of what king, (83) is a late modern coin from the same mint, (84) is a Bairāt coin of Akbar's but of irregular weight, (85) comes from Mailāpūr, the name of a part of the city of Madras. It is of the times of Aurangzēb. It belongs now to the Rev. J. E. Tracey, M.A., (86) is a unique coin of Muḥammad Shāh from the Shāhjahānābād mint. It is singular that whereas mohurs and rupees of this king from this mint are exceedingly common, this is the only copper coin of this king I have seen from this mint. From this I infer that the copper coinage of the Empire was so abundant there was no need for any more to be struck. (87) is a Kābul coin of Muḥammad Shāh: (88) is of the same king but from the Multān mint. The specimen I made this drawing from is the most beautiful and perfectly finished Mogul copper coin I know. (89) is from the Cuttack mint and is of the time of ʻĀlamgīr Aurangzēb.

On Plate XIX. (90) is of the Ḥāfiẓābād mint and is dated the 6th year of ʻĀlamgīr, but which of the ʻĀlamgīrs I don't know. Of (91)

there is no doubt that it was struck at the end of the reign of Aurangzēb in Patna when the name had been changed to 'Aẕīmābād. (92) is a Kābul coin of the same Emperor, (93) and (94) are the two dated coins from the Nārnōl mint. (95) is a Bairāt coin of Shāh Jahān bearing not his name but his title, Sāḥib-i-Qirān Ṣānī. (96) is also a fulūs of Shāh Jahān, with a date, but not with the mint name on it. (97) must be a coin of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī struck in Multān: but I think (98) is one of the Delhī king Aḥmad Shāh, struck in Peshāwur. (99) and (100) are two coins from the Lāhōr mint of 'Ālamgīr II, while (101) and (102) are from the Shāhjahānābād mint of the same Emperor as is seen from the dates they bear.

Plate XX. is the first plate of coins I drew for this paper which I intended should deal only with the copper coins of Shāh 'Ālam II. All the coins in this plate are of his time. Helpless though he was, the glamour of his name and titles was such that they were used not only by the East India Company on their issues from the Murshidābād, Benares, Sūrat and Farrukhābād mints, but by Native States all over Northern India. Small mints were established in out-of-the-way places. Hence copper coins bearing fragments of the name and titles of Shāh 'Ālam II are exceedingly numerous. There are many with no mint name on them. I give some of these. Most of those I have drawn are given by reason of the mint names on them. (103) is from Jhānsī. (104) is from Dāmlā, a place not given in Hunter's Gazetteer of India. It is, however, in Fullarton's Gazetteer of the world stated to be "on the canal of 'Alī Mardān Khān, 25 miles W. N. W. of Sahāranpūr." This was confirmed by A. Phelan, Esq., Executive Engineer, Western Jumna Canal, who in answer to a note of mine most courteously informed me that "Dāmlā is a large ancient village lying on the right bank of the Western Jumna Canal" and that "Damla contains many Pathan families." I have seen one other copper coin from this Dāmlā mint: (105) comes from the Nāhan mint. I have seen other coins from this mint. On one was the name of Bahādur Shāh, Mulzim (servant) of Gīrvānyodh, Mahārāja of Nepāl. This was struck during the Gurkha occupation of Nāhan. Another bears the name of a rāja of Sirmūr, the state of which Nāhan is capital. This coin (105) differs from both those I have mentioned. I don't know what to make out of the mint on (106), but (107) is certainly from the Farrukhnagar mint and 108 is from Ḥusainābād, (109) is one type of Shāh 'Ālam's Akbarābād copper coins. On (103), (104) and (105) there is a figure to the *r.* or *l.* We see from this Akbarābād coin that a fish is intended by it. The fish standard was an emblem of royalty; hence coins bear the sign of the fish to show

their connexion with the Central Government.[1] It seems strange that the fish is found only on the coins of Shāh 'Ālam and in the arms of the kings of Lucknow. (110) is of the Islāmābād mint. This name belongs to several towns in India. I do not believe that this coin came from Chittagong, but from some town in the N.-W. Provinces. We read "Muttra changed its name to Islāmābād and was thus called in all official documents, as well as by the people." Elliot Vol. VII. p. 26. (111) is a strange coin. It is of Akbarābād and has on it J. W. H. John William Hessing was Commander of the Fort of Âgra. He died in 1803, the year the English took the Fort. He had been a soldier of fortune. There is a very good sketch of his life in Compton's book on Military Adventurers in India. (112) I took this coin to be one of Monghīr, but I fancy I am mistaken. From the Najībābād mints both (113) and (114) were issued. On the smaller size the fish is often represented as standing up and not as here lying to the *r*.

Plate XXI.—(115)–(118) are coins of two sizes from the Sahāranpūr mint in the latter part of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. (119) was produced in the Mominābād mint, but I cannot say what the mint name is on (120). Coins (121)–(126) are of Akbar II. (121) has the name of the Akbarābād mint on it and the pistol. (122) was struck in Gwālīār. The sword, with its point over the ج of جلوس is a peculiarity of this coin. Coins with the sword in that position are very common, but coins bearing the mint name گوالیار are very rare. (123)–(126) were struck in Shāhjahānābād. They are about the same in weight as the rupees of Akbar II. (125) is peculiar since it has an English letter S instead of the Arabic word سنه on it for year. (126) reverts to the use of سنه.

Plate XXII.—The upper half of this plate contains six coins of Shāh 'Ālam II all from the Shāhjahānābād mint. All have the fish on them except (127), (130) has a date on it ۱۲۱۴ which must be intended for ۱۱۷۴ as the regnal year is 1. I think ۱ and ۷ have been inadvertently joined together. The date on (131) is certainly 1125 though the regnal year is 33. 1125 would make the coin one of Farrukhsiyar. Pistol pice of Shāh 'Alam II, are shown in coins (133)–(135), the two first being from the Akbarābād mint. (136) is a fine specimen of a coin of Shāh 'Ālam II from the Bindraban mint. There is a different specimen with a fish on it, in Plate XII (147) from the same mint. There is no mint at all on (137) but we cannot be far wrong if we assign it to Bhartpūr, the symbol of that place being the kitār which occupies the field of the reverse. The symbols on (138) a trisūl and standing fish, belong to

[1] [It may be worth mentioning that the sign manual of the great Darbhangā Rāj is a fish (*mahi*). Ed.]

some town I am not acquainted with. Both (137) and (138) are coins of Shāh 'Ālam II.

Plate XXIII.—The coins on this plate are a miscellaneous lot with which I became acquainted during the time I was drawing the other plates. (139) is an early dām of Akbar's from the Alwar mint. (140) is the only dām of the Kalānaur mint that I have ever seen.[1] I got it in Ludiāna. Kalānaur was one of Akbar's copper mints and it was the place where he was crowned. (141) is a rare dām of Shāh Jahān from the Lucknow mint. Lucknow was a mint of Shēr Shāh's, Akbar's and other Mogul Emperors. (142) is the smallest copper coin I have seen from the Fatḥpūr Sikrī mint. It is the eighth of a dām of Akbar. I do not know what to make out of (143). It is a Calcutta mint one-anna piece. It seems to bear the date 1100 H. but the two dots may belong to the ش of Shāh. It was struck by the East India Company. It is the only one I have ever seen and is in the Society's own collection. I obtained (144), a fine coin of Jahāndār Shāh from the Kābul mint, at the beginning of this month. (145) is a good specimen of the coins from the Ēlichpūr mint in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. One of the most curious coins in this paper is (146). It has on it fragments of the couplet on Sikh rupees on one side, and on the other the name of the Najībābād mint, with its standing fish and the year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. It must have been struck when the Sikhs were in power in the Dūāb. I have one with the same Sikh fragments on but struck in Jaipūr. The legends on (148) are not full enough to enable me to give the mint. They only tell us that the coin is one of Shāh 'Ālam II. The use of رابح in a circle is peculiar. I have a second specimen half the weight of this. (149) has been a puzzle to me for a long time. The date on it is ۱۱۴۰. This confirms my reading of اکبر on the other side. I make out the mint to be Nagar نگر but I know nothing about it. As I have no coin of Bābar in this paper on Mogul copper coins, I thought I would finish off with (150) which is a fine specimen from the mint in the Fort of Āgra in 936 H. I ought to have given on a thirteenth plate the coins in bronze of Humāyūn. They are from the Āgra mint as Dāru-l-khilāfat, Dāru-l-amān, Dāru-l-'adl and Qilā-i-Āgra Dāru-ẓ-ẓarb: from the Dāru-l-mulk Ḥaẓrat Delhī mint; Dāru-l-khilāfat Lāhōr; Mandū; Shahr-i-Mukarram Campānīr, and Dāru-ẓ-ẓarb Khitta-i-Mutabarrak Jaunpūr mints. But some of these have already been edited and drawn.

One thing has been prominently brought before us, the thorough jumble in which the copper coinage of the Moguls was. It must be

[1] Dr. Vost says he has another.

remembered that before the advent of the copper coinage of the East India Company, the coins we have been describing were current in the country. But besides these there were what are now called Mansūrī pice also current. These are still to the fore in many Native towns. They are simply uncoined lumps of copper. It was time one great power rose in India to give the Empire a uniform coinage, one that would enable India to be an empire where extensive commerce could be carried on.

We have not seen the names of many mints. We will put them down all together here:—Aḥmadābād, Agra, Bairāt, Qandahār, Kābul, Ajmīr, Dehlī, Patna, Multān, Lāhōr, Sūrat, Udaipūr, Ujain, Shāhjahānābād, Nārnōl, Ḥaidarābād, Shōlāpūr, Kulburga, Bijāpūr, Ēlicpūr, Lucknow, Akbarābād, Mailāpūr, Cuttack, Ḥafiẓabad, 'Aẓīmābād, Peshāwur, Jhānsī, Dāmlā, Nāhan, Farrukhnagar, Ḥusainābād, Najībād, Sahāranpūr, Mōminābād, Gwāliyār, Bindraban, Bhartpūr, Alwar, Kalānaur, Fatḥpūr, Calcutta and Nagar. These are 42 in number. There were several I could not make out. These raise the numbers to about 50. We know from catalogues lately published that there are many other copper coins of the Moguls from other mints. These mints show that during the time of the Mogul Empire Copper Coins were struck all over India from Cuttack and Calcutta in the East to Kābul and Qandahār in the West, from Peshawur in the north to Ḥaidarābād, Shōlāpūr and Mailāpūr in the South.

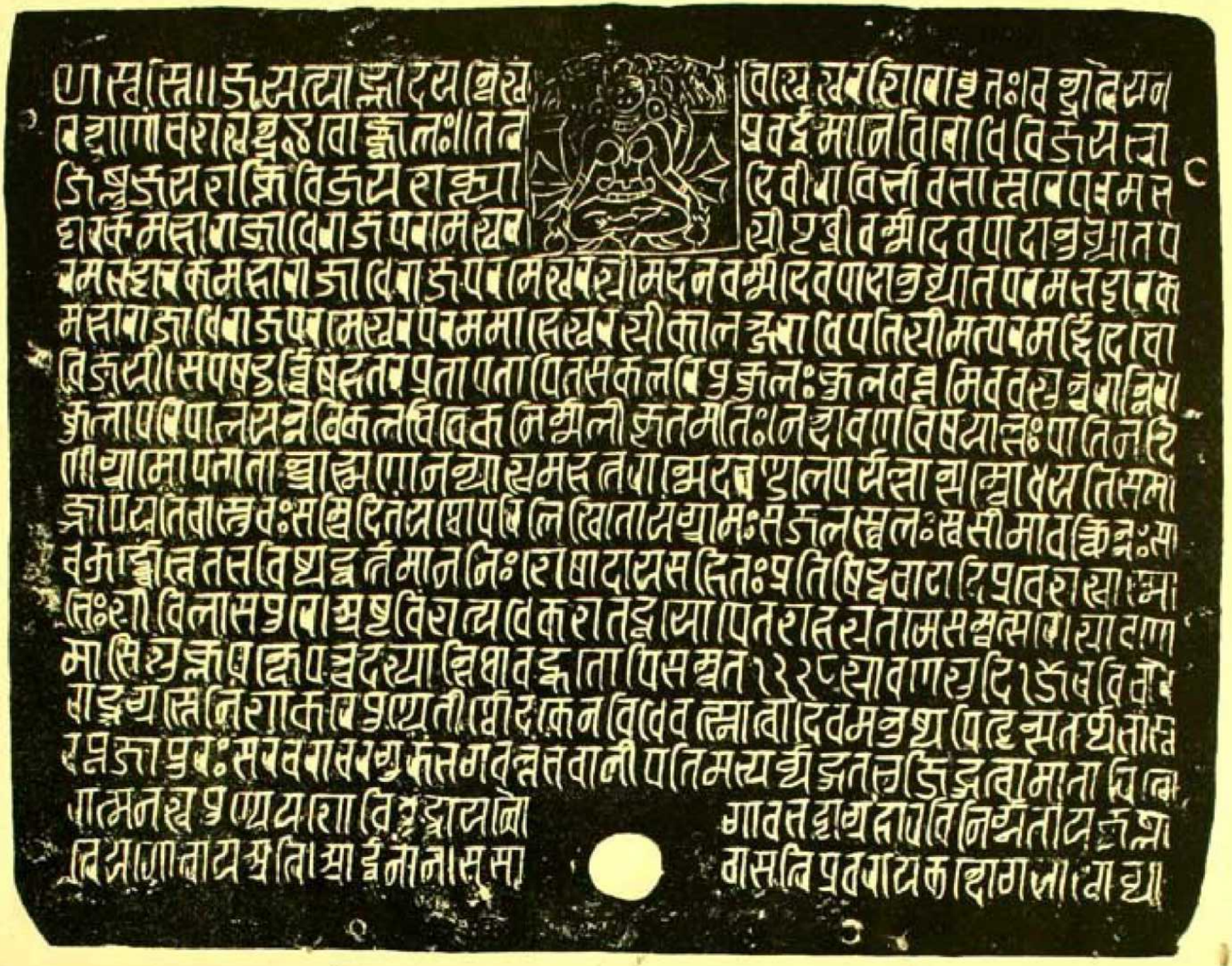
Of course the subject of the Copper Coins of the Moguls has not been a matter of study for a long time. My paper on Copper Coins of Akbar, published in this *Journal* in 1880, drew attention to it. Mr. E. E. Oliver followed with an excellent paper on coins from one odd find made by him in one of his official tours. In 1885 I gave "Some more Copper Coins of Akbar" in this *Journal*. In 1890 I wrote a paper for the *Indian Antiquary* on "Rare Copper Coins of Akbar." In the "Catalogue of Mogul and Sūrī coins purchased by the Panjāb Government from me, and now in the Lahore Museum," I gave 485 Mogul Copper Coins. There are unfortunately no plates in that catalogue. I have not indented on the coins in the Lāhore Museum extensively in order to give the coins in this paper. Some of Jahāngīr, Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr I and II and of Akbar II, I wanted to give and I obtained the loan of them.

There is still an open field for the numismatic student. The bāzārs of India can now be reached by railway. The exertions of my esteemed correspondents in Aḥmadābād, Bombay and Poona have shown me that in Western India alone we have an enormous field open to us. In a letter from my friend Dr. Vost, he says that he has made several

discoveries of new things of Akbar's. The conviction is borne upon me that Akbar coined so very extensively that there was not much need for his successors to do much towards supplying a copper currency. We have seen however that coins of Jahāngīr, Shahjahān, Aurangzeb, Shāh 'Ālam I, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar, Rafi'u-d-darajāt, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, 'Ālamgīr II, Shāh 'Ālam II, and Akbar II, are known. Jahāngīr's copper coins are very plentiful in Aḥmadābad, Aurangzēb's abound in the Panjāb bāzārs. Of such kings as Jahāndār Shāh and Rafi'u-d-darajāt we cannot expect many coins in copper. But I know that my esteemed friend Mr. King of Peshāwar has a beautiful duplicate of Jahāndār from the Kābul mint and one of Rafi'u-d-darajāt from the Ēlicpūr mint.

Now that Indian numismatists have begun to work at the Copper Coins of the Mogul Empire, they will, I doubt not, bearing in mind that the copper coins were the currency of the masses, accumulate much information. I am a fixture in Amritsar, too poor to travel and hence my discoveries are *nil*. But I am certain that as yet we are only on the shore of the ocean. There is much more in store for us than what we have found cast up on the strand. We must dive deep down and we shall be rewarded far beyond what we have as yet dreamt of. I commend the subject to my fellow workers.

In conclusion I must apologize for the utter want of order in the coins given in the plates. I cannot get coins to come to me in order. One friend sends me one lot, another a second: I go to the bāzār and perhaps fish up one or two more. A dealer drops in and I obtain from him at a ruinous price a specimen or two. When the coins are in my hands I draw them. My time is pretty fully occupied and I cannot redraw them. Hence I am compelled to give the coins in the order in which I obtain them. It is gratifying to me to know that my past efforts have been appreciated. I trust that with all its faults this paper may be of some use and at any rate help to deepen the interest felt in the subject of the Copper Coinage of the Moguls—the coinage in use by the masses of a vast Empire for about three centuries.



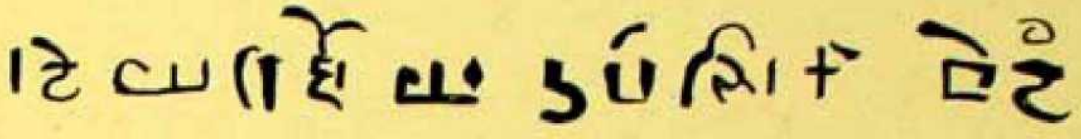
Reg No. 268, As Soc, B.—July 93—700. Photo., S. I. O., Calcutta.

Copper-plate Grant of Paramarddi-deva.

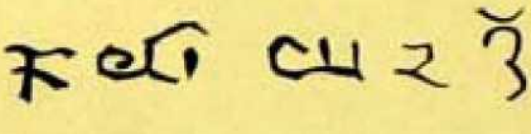
Lith. by J. C. Mondul.

STATUETTE OF THE BUDDHA, FOUND AT DHANĒSAR KHĒRA, No 1

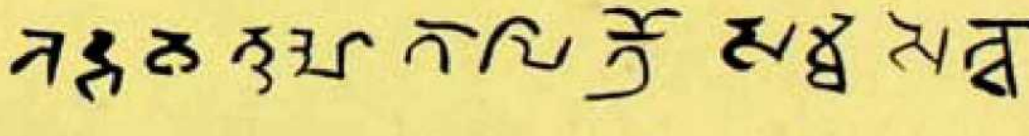
1. Front Inscriptions on Standing Figure No I.



2. Right side (of spectator)



3. Back.



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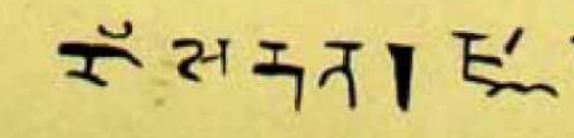
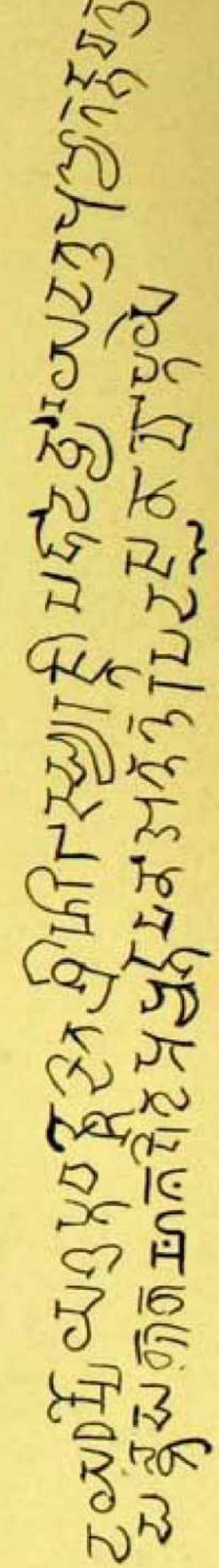


Inscription on Seated figure, No II



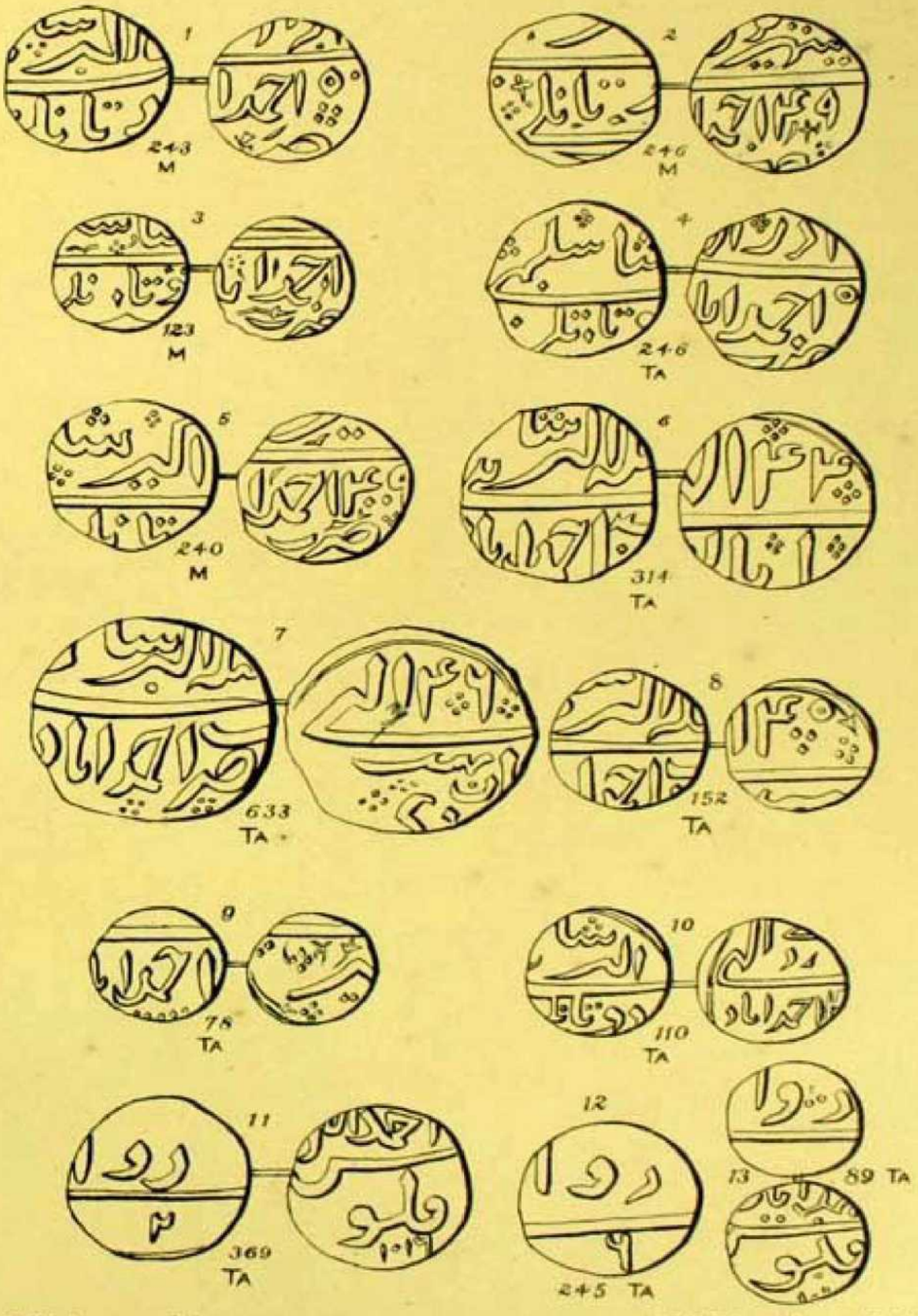
INSCRIPTION FROM DHANĒSAR KHĒRĀ

Lith by A. C. Chowdhary

STATUETTE OF THE BUDDHA, FOUND AT DHANĒSAR KHĒRĀ, No. II

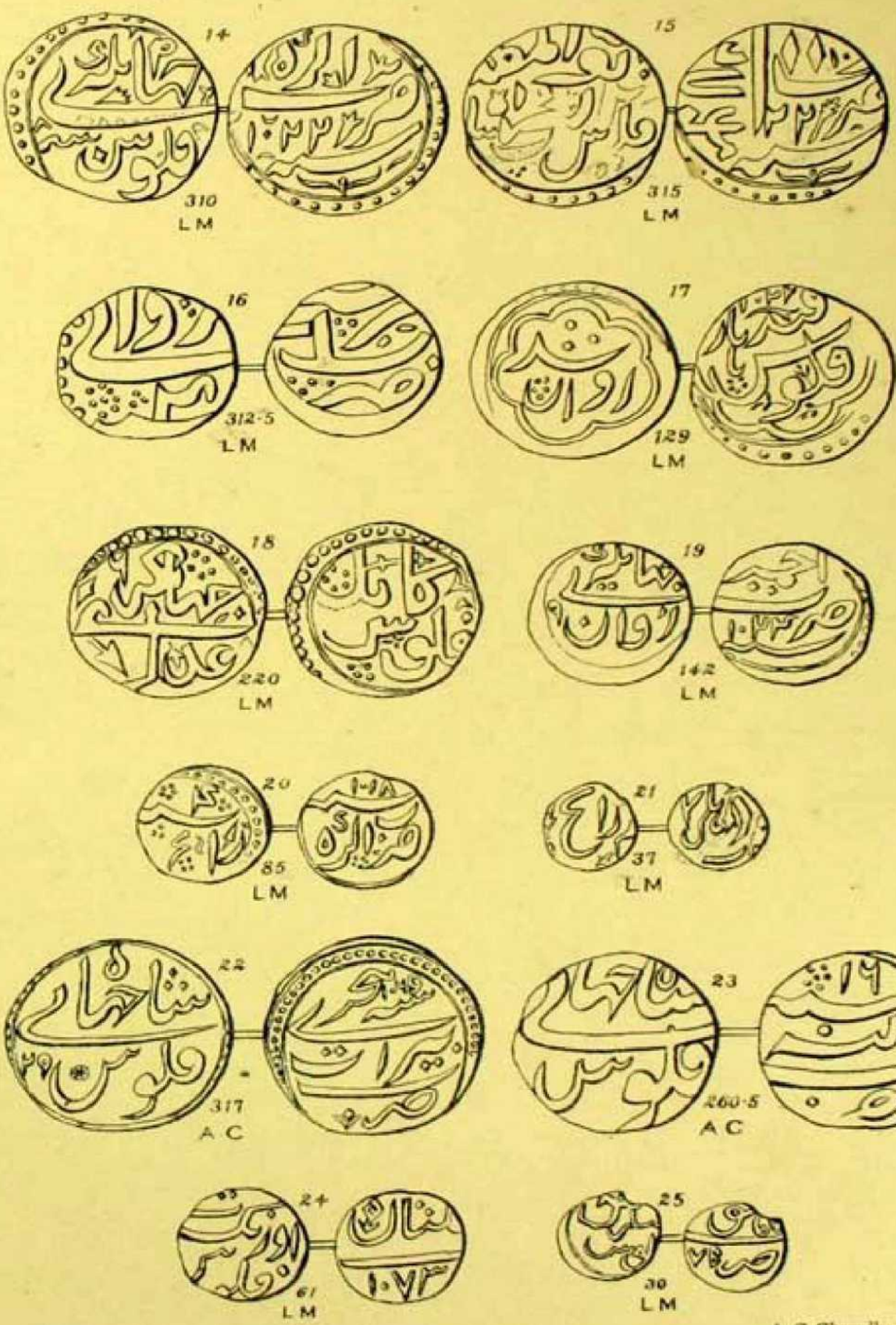
Lith by A.C Chowdhary.

STATUELTE OF THE BUDDHA, FOUND AT DHANĒSAR KHĒRĀ, N°. III



C. J. Rodgers del. A.C. Chowdhary Lith.

MOGUL COPPER COINS



C. J. Rodgers del. A. C. Chowdhary Lith.

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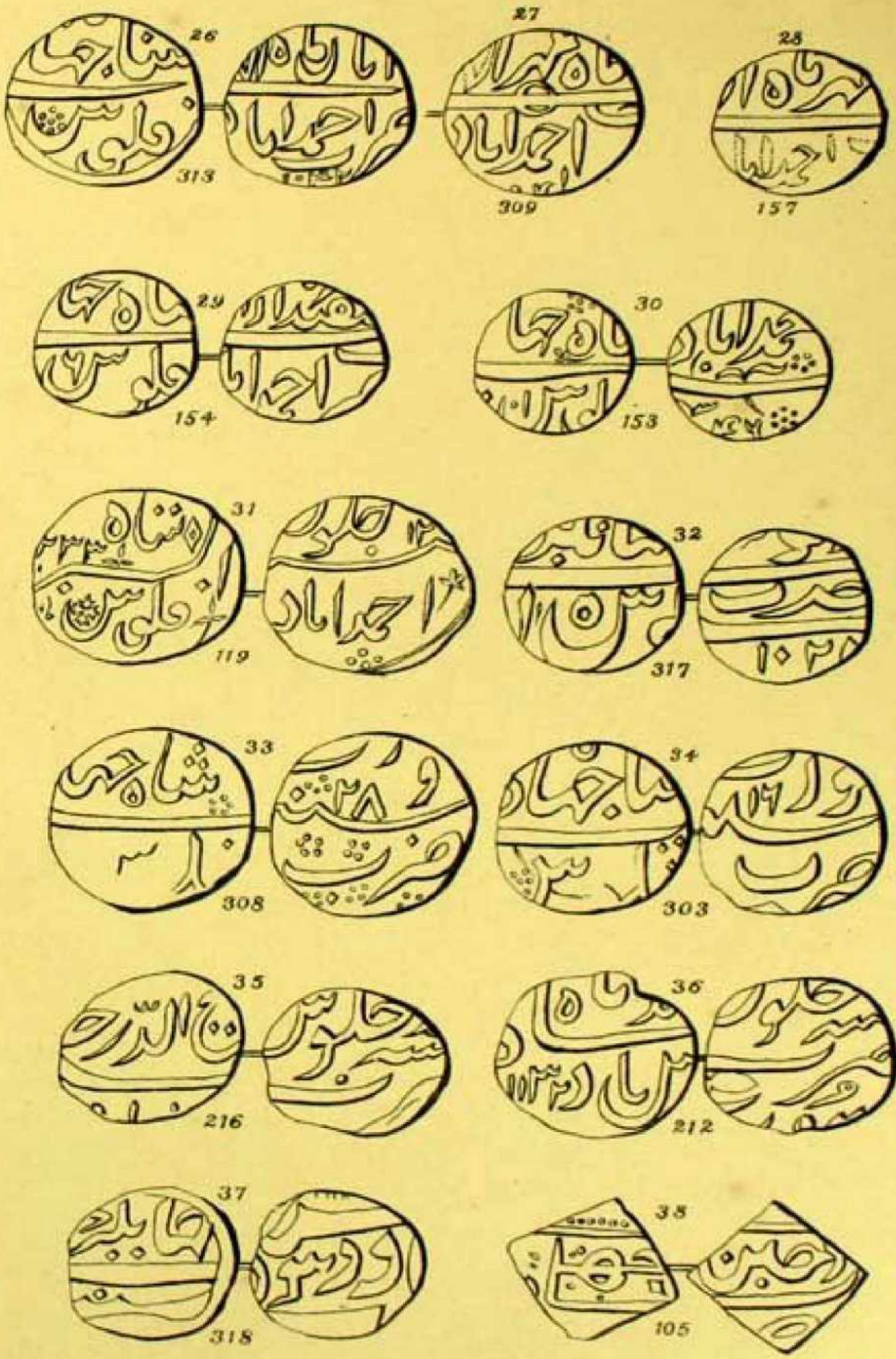
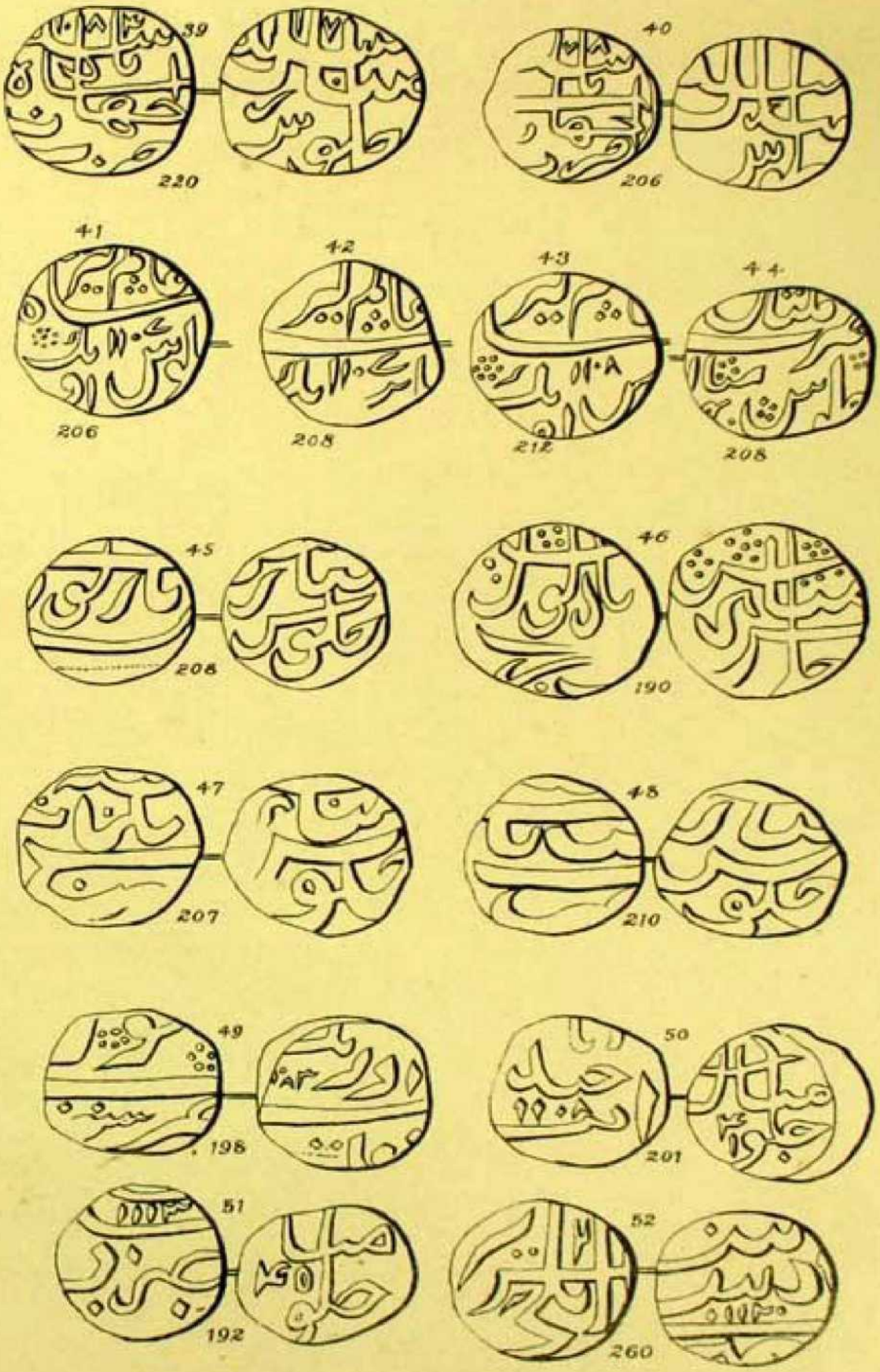


C.J. Rodgers del. A.C. Chowdhary Lith.

MOGUL COPPER COINS



C. J. Rodrigues del. A. C. Chowdhary Lith.

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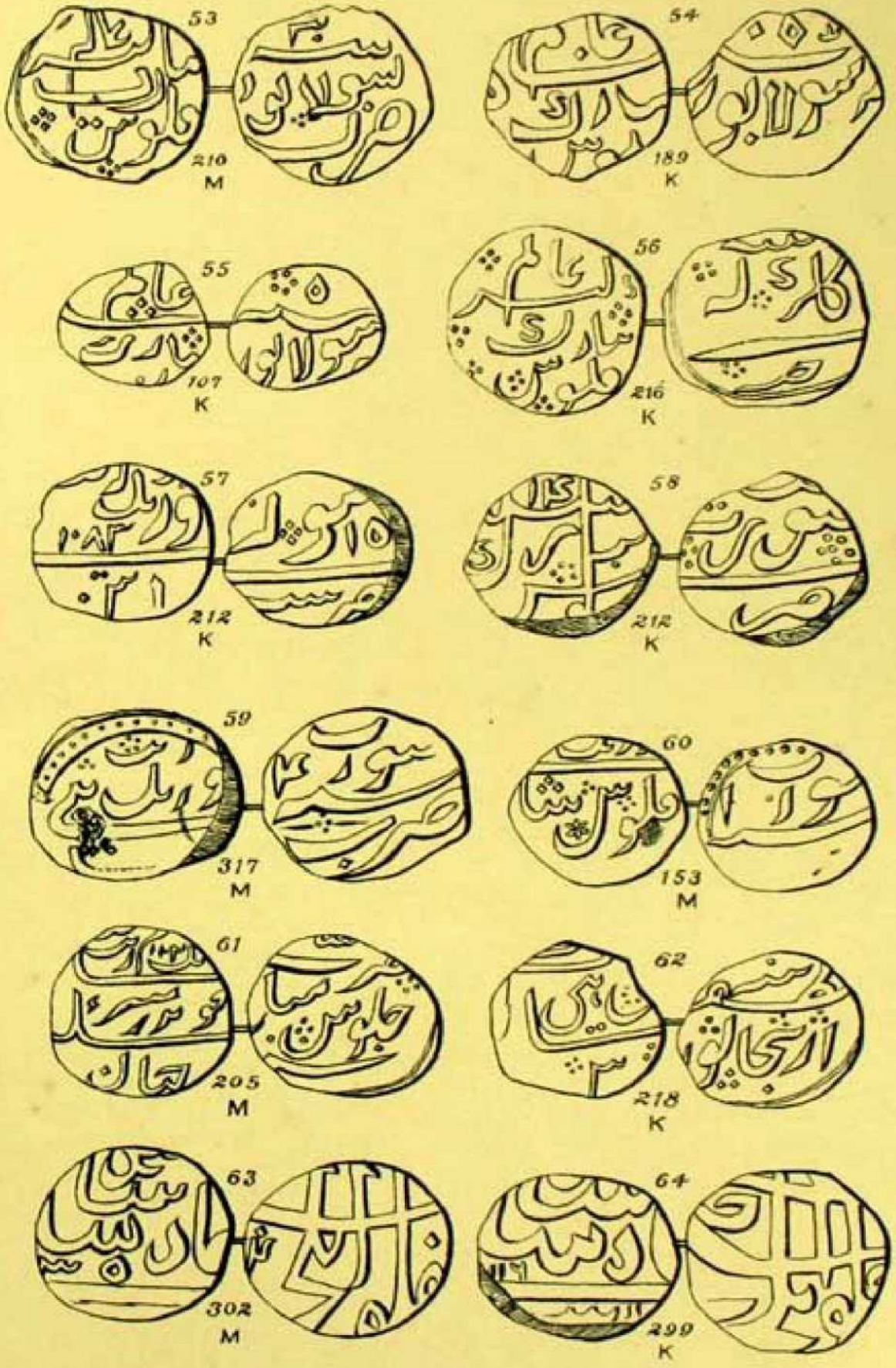
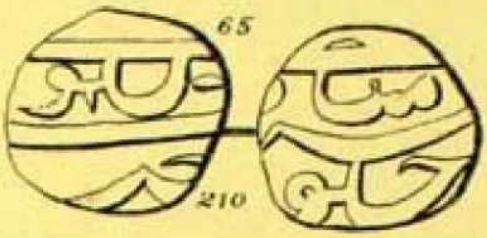
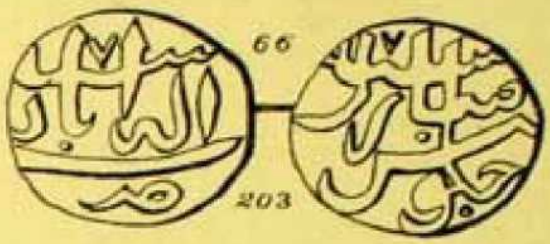
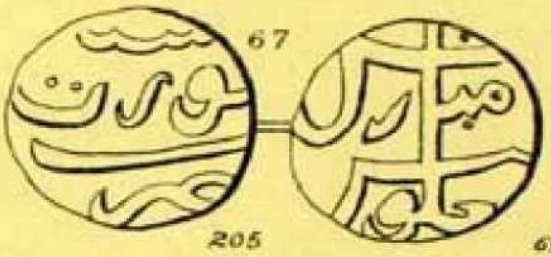


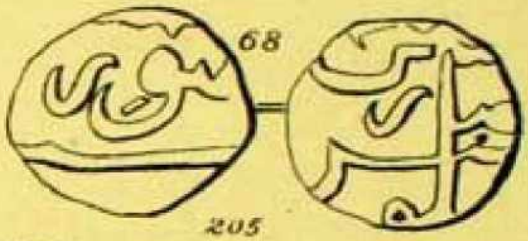
C. J. Rodgers del. A.C Chowdhary Lith.

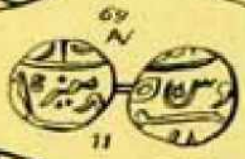
MOGUL COPPER COINS

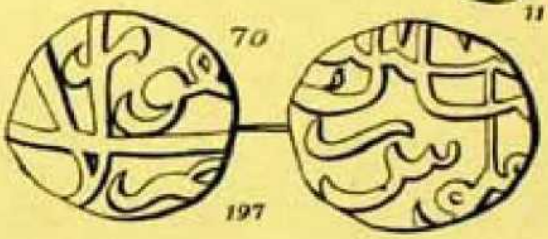


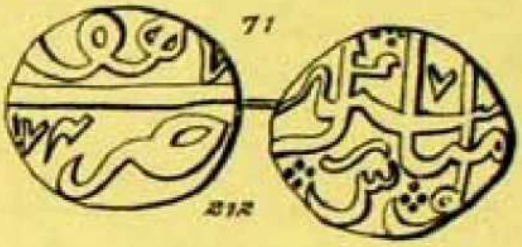


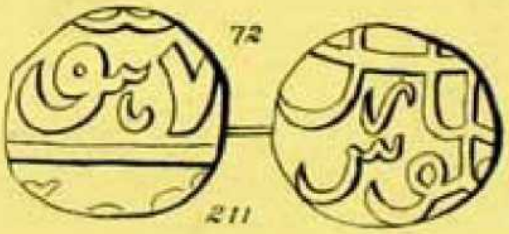


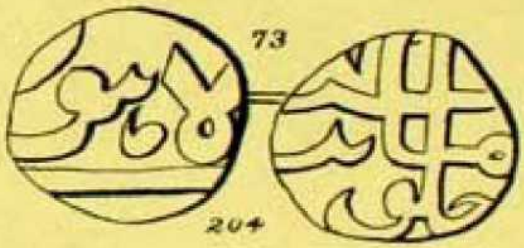


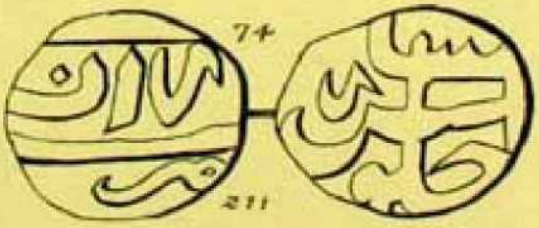


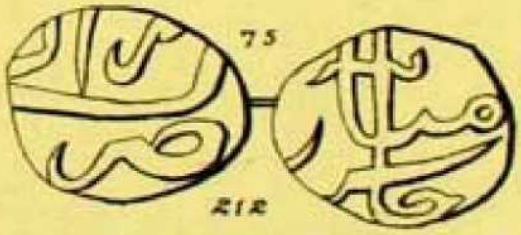


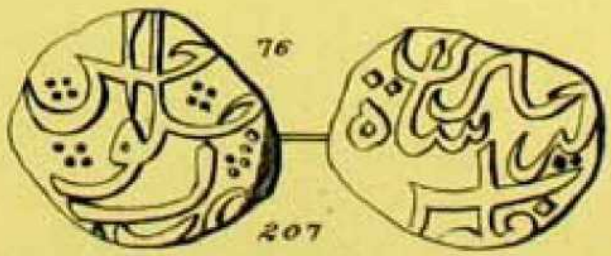


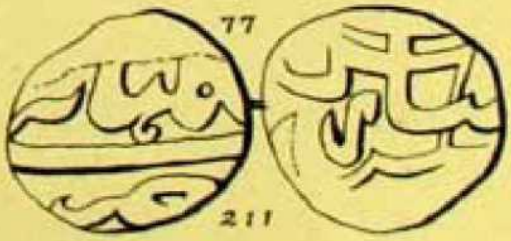






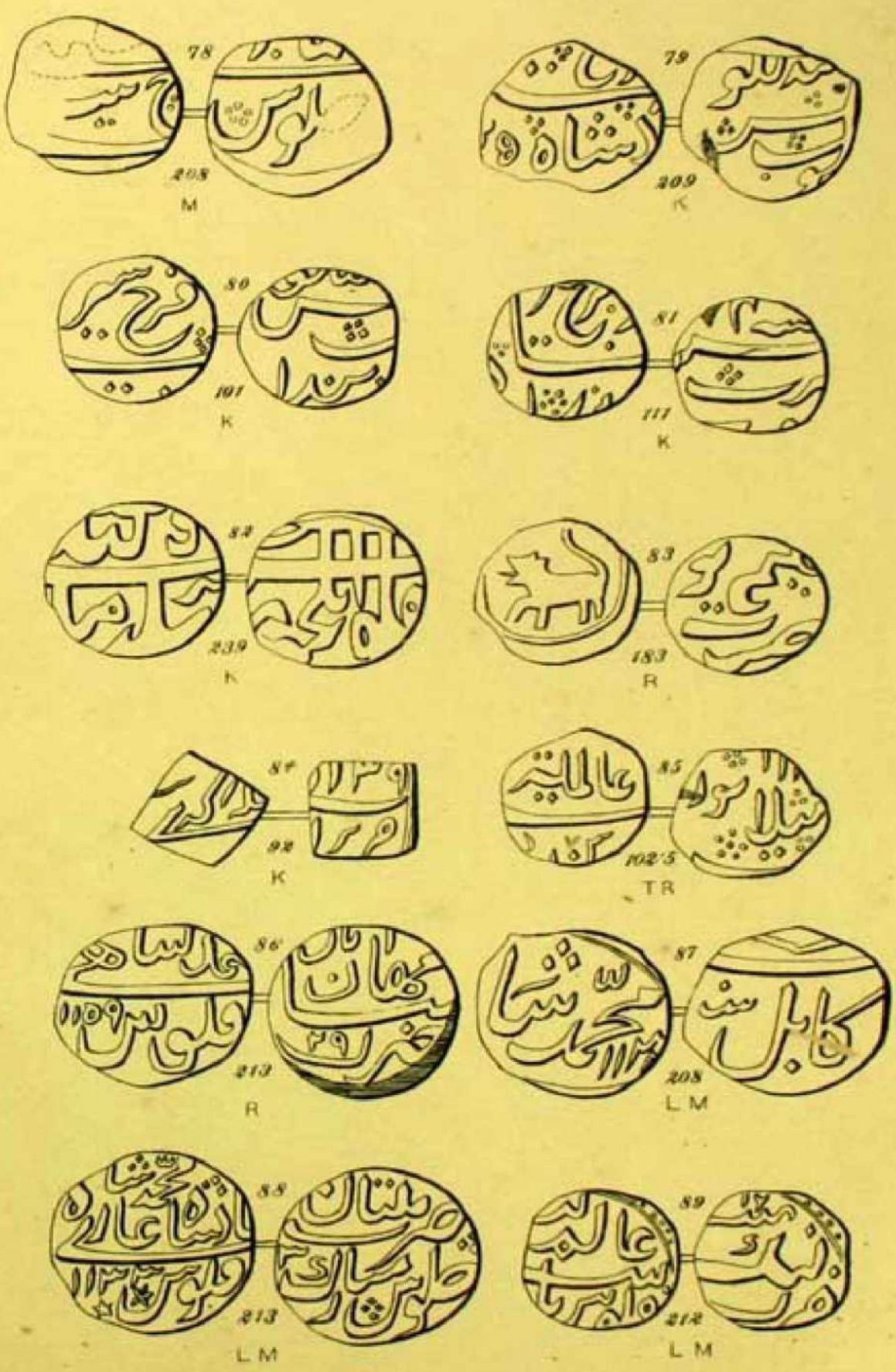






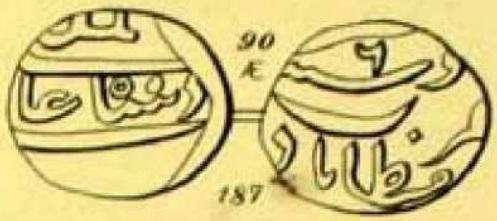
C. J. Rodgers del. A. C. Chowdhary Lith.

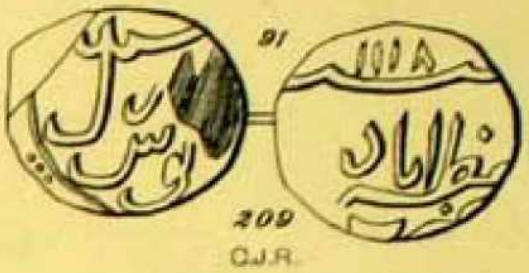
MOGUL COPPER COINS

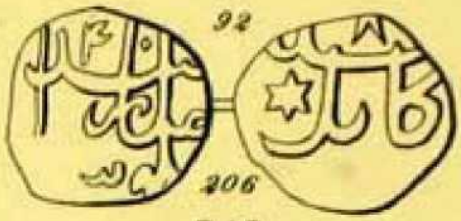


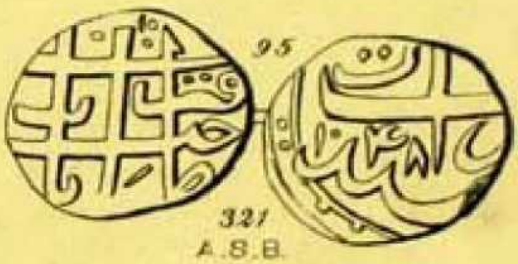
C. J. Rodgers del. Lith. by S. C. Mondul.

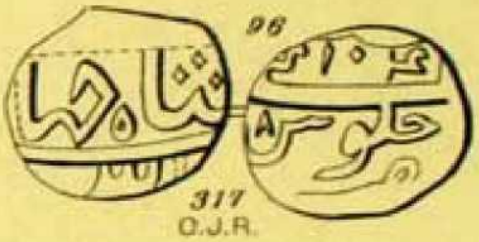
MOGUL COPPER COINS.

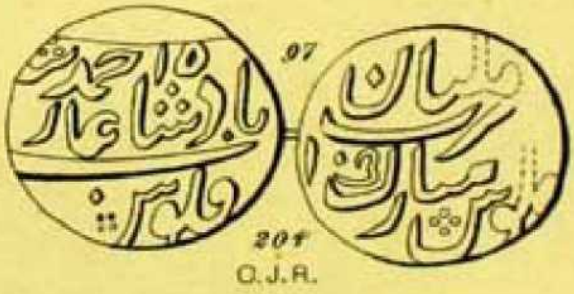


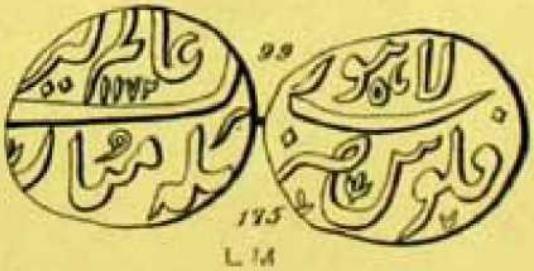


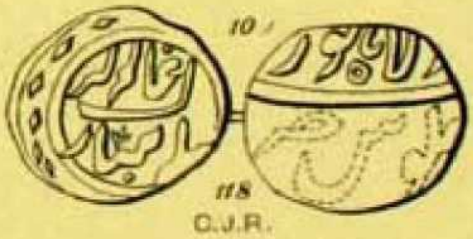


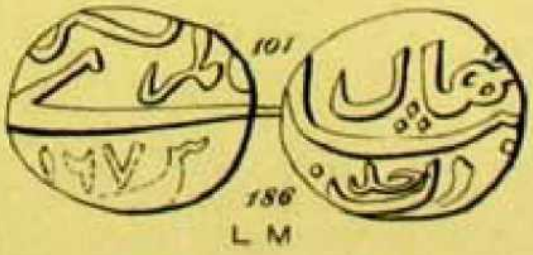


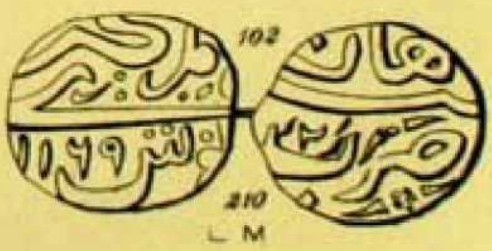






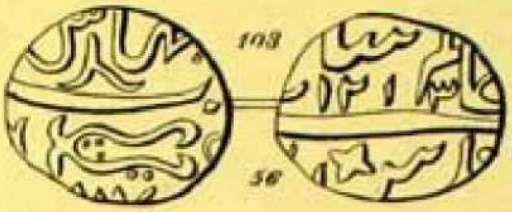


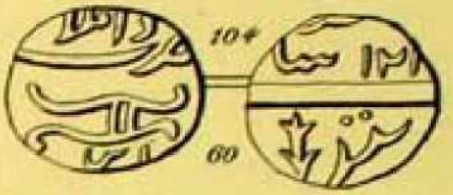


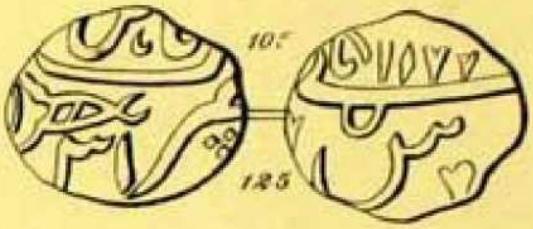


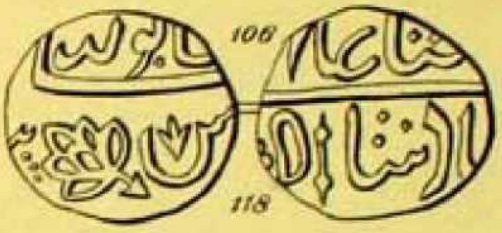
C.J. Rodgers del. Lith. by S.C. Mandal.

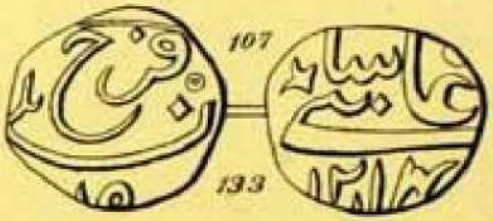
MOGUL COPPER COINS.

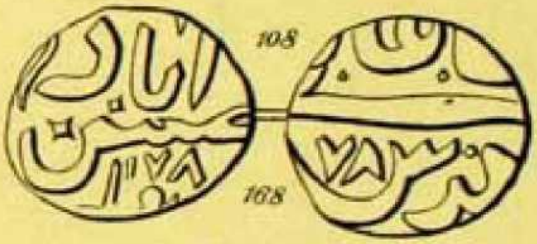


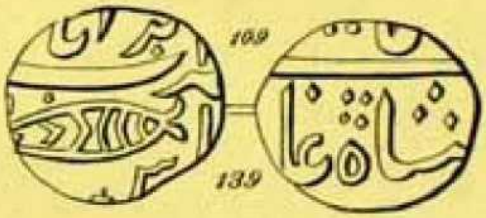


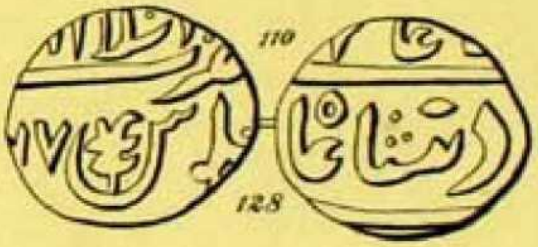


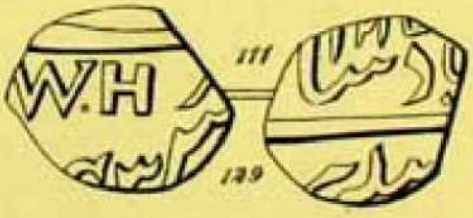


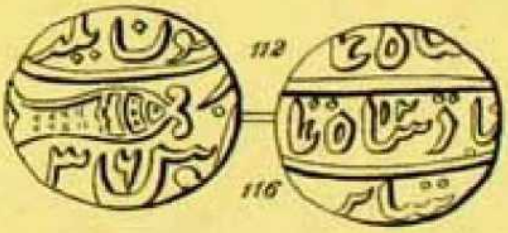


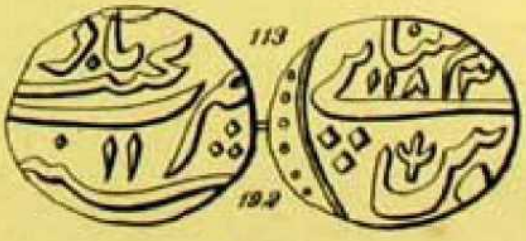


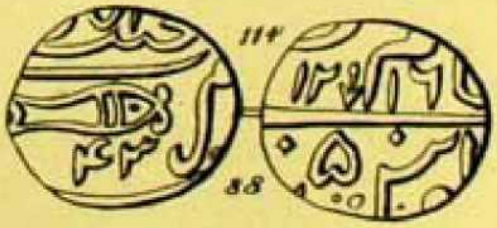












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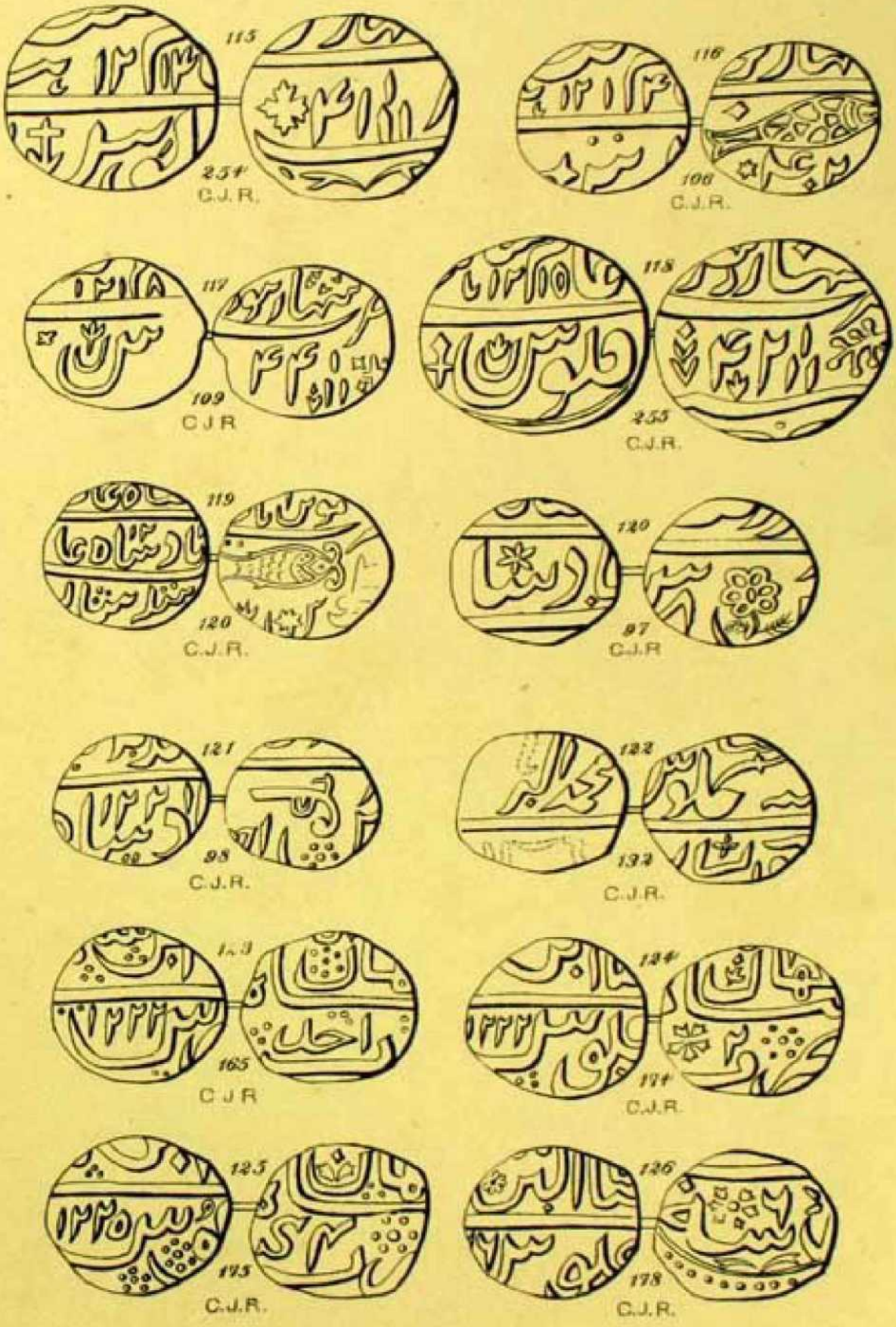

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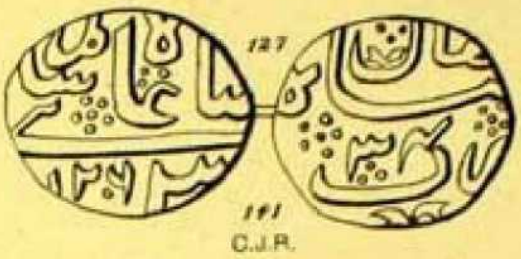

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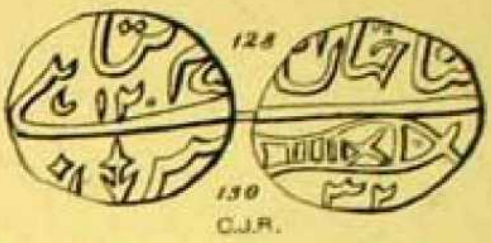

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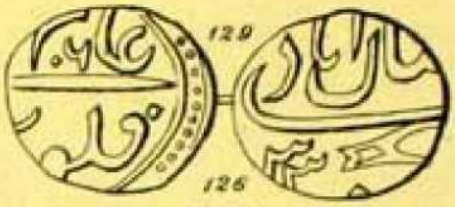

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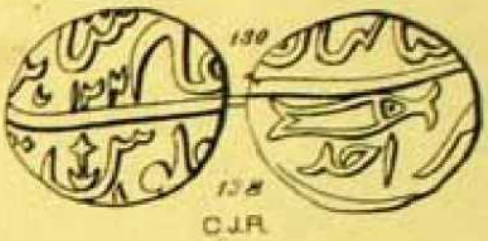

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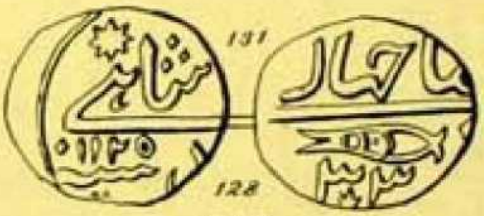

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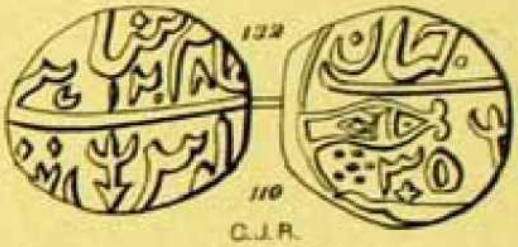

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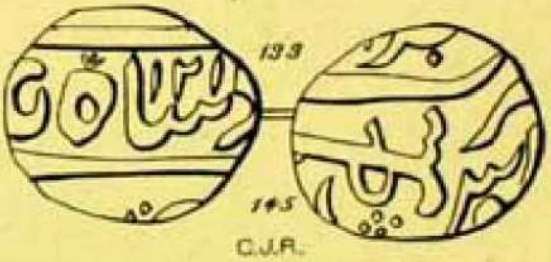

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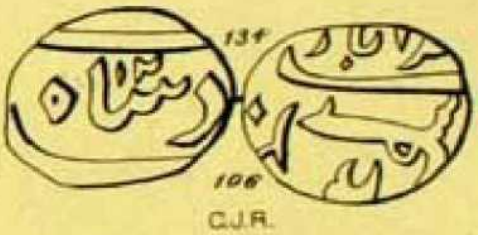

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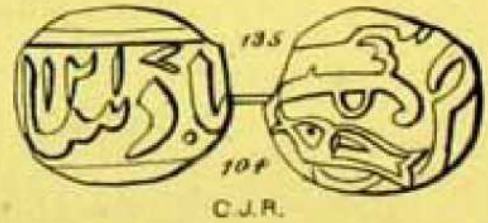

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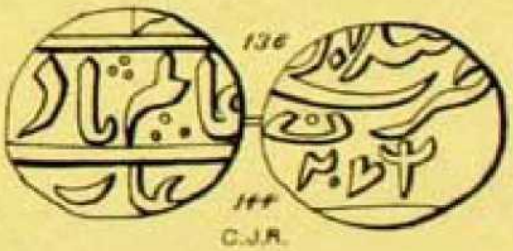

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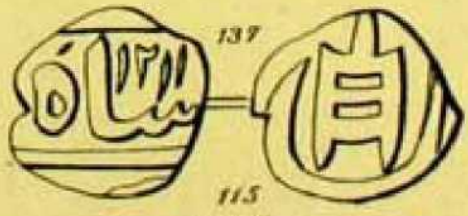

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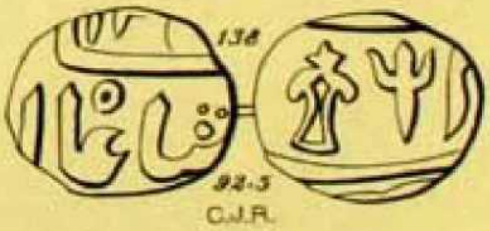

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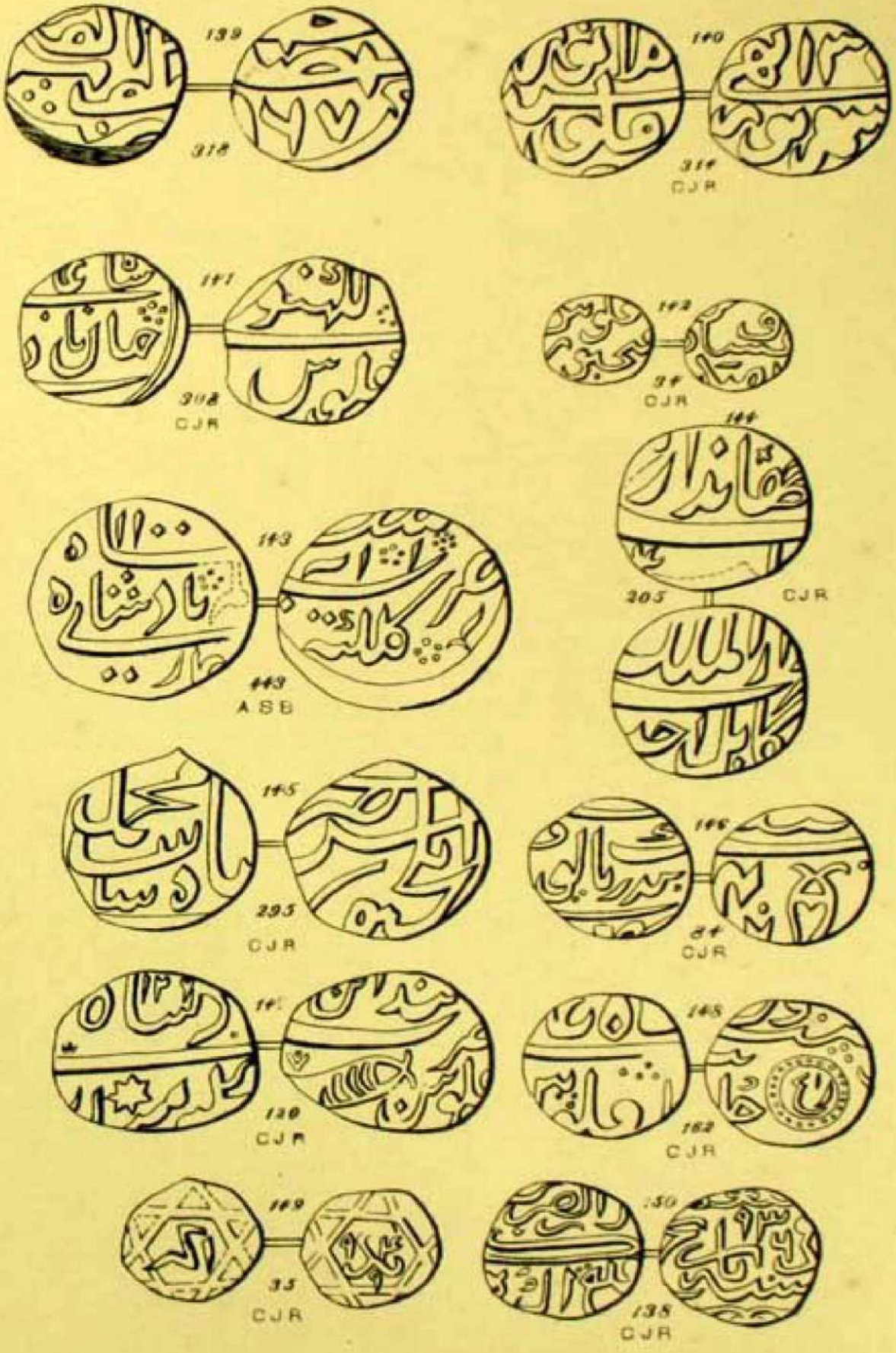

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MOGUL COPPER COINS

Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DĒVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛ*, ॠ *ṝ*, ऌ *ḷ*, ए *e*, ऐ *ē*,
ओ *o*, औ *ō*, ऐ *ai*, औ *au*, ं *ṁ*, ँ ~ : ः *ḥ*

क *k*,	ख *kh*,	ग *g*,	घ *gh*,	ङ *ṅ*
च *c*,	छ *ch*,	ज *j*,	झ *jh*,	ञ *ñ*
ट *ṭ*,	ठ *ṭh*,	ड *ḍ*,	ढ *ḍh*,	ण *ṇ*
त *t*,	थ *th*,	द *d*,	ध *dh*,	न *n*
प *p*,	फ *ph*,	ब *b*,	भ *bh*,	म *m*
य *y*,	र *r*,	ल *l*,	व *v*,	(ळ *ḷ*)
श *ç*,	ष *ṣ*,	स *s*,	ह *h*.	

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ड़ may be represented by *ṛ*, and ढ़ by *ṛh*.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus ओ ऽपि *so 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *ḥ*, *Jihvāmūlīya* by *ḫ*, and *Upadhmānīya* by *ḭ*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *ṁ*, thus संसर्ग *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ´ and the *svarita* by ^. Thus, अग्निः *agníḥ*, जनिता *janitā́*, क्व *kvā́*, कन्या *kanyā̂*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by `. Thus, ते अवर्धन्त *tḗ àvardhanta*.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(*The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries*) :—

Vowels.		Consonants.		Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.	
ا	a	ب	b	بھ	bh
آ	ā	پ	p	پھ	ph
اِ	i	ت	t	تھ	th
اِی	ī			ٹ	ṭ
اے	ē			ٹھ	ṭh
اُ	u	ث	ṯ		
اُو	ū	ج	j	جھ	jh
او	ō	چ	c	چھ	ch

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
اَیْ ai	ح ḥ	
اَوْ au	خ kh	
	د d	ڈھ dh
	ڈ ḍ	
	ڑھ ḍh	
	ذ z	
	ر r	ڑ ṛ
	ڑھ ṛh	
	ز z	
	ژ zh	
	س s	
	ش sh	
	ص ṣ	
	ض ẓ	
	ط ṭ	
	ظ ẓ	
	ع ‘	
	غ gh	
	ف f	
	ق q	
	ک k	کھ kh
	گ g	گھ gh
	ل l	
	م m	
	ن n	
	ں when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva Nāgarī, by ˜ on the preceding vowel	
	و w (or rarely v)	
	ہ h	
	ی y	
	Hamzah ء (where necessary) ’	

The ل of the article ال in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولہ Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n*—e. g., *ittifāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final ہ need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.

in the Hamīrpur District belong respectively to the reigns of Dēva-varmma-dēva (S. 1107) and Dhanga (S. 1055).[1] The third plate is a record of Madana-varmma-dēva, dated S. 1190.[2]

A fifth copper-plate inscription of the reign of Vīra-varmman, dated S. 1337, and known as the Dāhi copper-plate, which belonged to Colonel Ellis, was lost in the Mutiny.[3]

The numerous other inscriptions of the Candēlla kings are on stone.

Several inscriptions of the reign of Paramarddi-dēva are known.

A single line record on a pedestal at Mahoba, dated S. 1224, is mentioned by Cunningham, and seems to have contained the king's name. This inscription has not been published, and the original seems to have disappeared.[4]

The Mahoba inscription, dated S. 1240, certainly belongs to Paramarddi-dēva's reign, though his name has been lost.[5]

The Kālañjar inscription, supposed to be dated in S. 1258, requires re-editing. It certainly mentions Paramarddi-dēva.

The Madanapur inscriptions record the fact of the conquest of Paramarddi by Pṛthivī Rāja Cāhumāna (Chauhan) in S. 1239,= A.D. 1182.

An inscription at Khajurāho dated S. 1234, and two at Ajaygaṛh, dated respectively 1237 and 1243, (Nos. 46 and 50 of Cunningham's list), belong to the reign of Paramarddi, though they do not seem to mention his name.[6]

The only inscription mentioning Paramarddi by name, and recorded during his reign, which has been properly edited, is the Bagrāri stone inscription.

"The proper object of the inscription is to record (in verses 25–29) that Sallakṣaṇa, the minister of the king Paramarddi-dēva built a temple of Viṣṇu, and a temple of Çiva at which the inscription was put up; and that this second temple was completed by Puruṣōttama, the son of Sallakṣaṇa and his successor in the office of minister, after the death of his father.

[1] V. A. Smith and Bābū Prannath Paṇḍit in *J. As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. XLVII, Part I (1878), p. 80.

[2] Rajēndralāla Mitra, *A copper-plate grant from Bāndā*; *ibid* p. 73, Pl. VI.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæol. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 455; Vol. XXI, No. 58, pp. 83. 87.

[4] Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 447, 448; Vol. XXI, No. 44, p. 82; V. A. Smith, *History of Bundelkhand*, *J. A. S., B.*, Vol. L, Part I (1881), p. 21.

[5] *Ibid*; *ibid*.

[6] Madanpur is in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhānsī District of the North-Western Provinces (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. X, p. 98, Pl. XXXII; Vol. XXI, p. 173).

The other inscriptions referred to are noticed in the works already cited. The king's name is written Paramarddi, or Paramardi. So the name Varma may be written as Varmma, or in the stem form as Varman.

And by way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king, and (in verses 14–24) that of his ministers. All that we learn regarding the former is that from Atri's eye sprang the moon, and from the moon the Candrātrēya princes; that one of them was Madana-varman, whose son was Yaçō-varman, whose son again was the ruling prince Paramardi-dēva."[1]

This record alone informs us that Paramarddi, the Parmāl of tradition, although the immediate successor of the famous king Madana-varman, was yet the grandson, not the son, of that monarch. The order of regnal succession was certainly Pṛthivī-varman, Madana-varman, Paramarddi-varman, as given in the Icchāwar plate and the Ajaygaṛh stone inscription of Vīra-varman. The lost Dāhi copper-plate also gave the name of Madana-varman as that of Paramarddi-dēva's predecessor. It is evident that Yaçō-varman never reigned.

The bardic lists (*Arch. Rep.* II, 449) all insert a Kīrtti-varman between Madana and Paramardi. The words *Yaçō* and *Kīrtti* being synonymous, the entry in the lists is probably due to a reminiscence that Paramardi was the grandson of Madana-varman.

The latest known inscription of Madana-varman is dated S. 1220, = A.D. 1163. The earliest inscription of Paramardi is dated S. 1224, = A.D. 1167. It is, therefore safe to assume A.D. 1165 as the beginning of Paramardi's reign.

The Icchāwar inscription is dated S. 1228, = A.D. 1171. The reign of Paramardi ended in A.D. 1202, when he capitulated to Kutbu-d-dīn Ībak, dying before the surrender was effected. He was succeeded by Trailōkya-varman, who temporarily delivered his dominions from the Muḥammadan invaders.[2] Dr. Hoey possesses a unique copper coin of Trailōkya-varman, which we hope to publish soon.

[1] Kielhorn *Baṭēśvar Stone Inscription of Paramardi-dēva*, (*Epigr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 20). In a note the editor points out that the label attributing the stone to Baṭēçvar in the Agra district seems to be wrong, and that the inscription is probably No. 52 of Cunningham's list (*Arch. Rep.* XXI. p. 82), which was found in two pieces on the bank of the lake at Bagrāri (*sic*). There can be no doubt that the so called Baṭēçvar inscription is really that found at Bagrāri (*sic*), which like it had 24 lines, and was in two pieces. A Candēlla stone inscription could not have been found near Agra. The slab was obtained by the Tahsīldār of Mahōbā in 1884. The name Bagrāri is a misprint for Baghārī, *i. e.*, Siṇghanpur-Baghārī, near Mahōbā. (See Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of N. W. P.*, pp. 331 and 334, where the misprint is repeated.)

[2] "Then the prince Trailōkya-varman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. Like Viṣṇu, he was, in lifting up the earth, immerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas." l. 5 of *Ajaigarh Inscription of Vira-varman* (*Epigr. Indica*, Vol. I. p. 329). Professor Kielhorn's excellent editions of several of the Candēlla inscriptions throw much light on the history of Bundēlkhand, which requires to be revised.

discoveries of new things of Akbar's. The conviction is borne upon me that Akbar coined so very extensively that there was not much need for his successors to do much towards supplying a copper currency. We have seen however that coins of Jahāngīr, Shahjahān, Aurangzēb, Shāh 'Ālam I, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar, Rafi'u-d-darajāt, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, 'Ālamgīr II, Shāh 'Ālam II, and Akbar II, are known. Jahāngīr's copper coins are very plentiful in Aḥmadābad, Aurangzēb's abound in the Panjāb bāzārs. Of such kings as Jahāndār Shāh and Rafi'u-d-darajāt we cannot expect many coins in copper. But I know that my esteemed friend Mr. King of Peshāwar has a beautiful duplicate of Jahāndār from the Kābul mint and one of Rafi'u-d-darajāt from the Ēlicpūr mint.

Now that Indian numismatists have begun to work at the Copper Coins of the Mogul Empire, they will, I doubt not, bearing in mind that the copper coins were the currency of the masses, accumulate much information. I am a fixture in Amritsar, too poor to travel and hence my discoveries are *nil*. But I am certain that as yet we are only on the shore of the ocean. There is much more in store for us than what we have found cast up on the strand. We must dive deep down and we shall be rewarded far beyond what we have as yet dreamt of. I commend the subject to my fellow workers.

In conclusion I must apologize for the utter want of order in the coins given in the plates. I cannot get coins to come to me in order. One friend sends me one lot, another a second: I go to the bāzār and perhaps fish up one or two more. A dealer drops in and I obtain from him at a ruinous price a specimen or two. When the coins are in my hands I draw them. My time is pretty fully occupied and I cannot redraw them. Hence I am compelled to give the coins in the order in which I obtain them. It is gratifying to me to know that my past efforts have been appreciated. I trust that with all its faults this paper may be of some use and at any rate help to deepen the interest felt in the subject of the Copper Coinage of the Moguls—the coinage in use by the masses of a vast Empire for about three centuries.

The Khūrshīd Jahān Numā of Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh al Ḥusainī Angrēzābādī.—*By* H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(Read, December 1894.)

Introduction.

On the 20th May, 1889, Mr. Pargiter reported to our Society that a Muhammadan schoolmaster, in the district of Māldah, had written an historical work in Persian, and suggested that it should be examined in order to ascertain if it was worth publishing. In consequence of this, the author, whose name was Ilāhī Bakhsh, was invited to send his MS. for inspection; but the old man was so attached to his book, that he refused to let it out of his sight, and as he could not afford to come with it to Calcutta, nothing further was done at that time. Subsequently I visited Māldah, and had one or two interviews with the author. I found that the book was a History of the World from the days of Adam, and that in all probability it was not worth publishing in its entirety. I thought, however, that the account of Māldah, especially that of the ruins of Gauṛ and Paṇḍuā, might be valuable, and suggested to the author that he should extract this portion of his work, and submit it for examination. He accepted this proposal, and after some difficulty in finding an amanuensis, for Ilāhī Bakhsh was too old and feeble to make the extract himself, the portion of the work which related to Bengal was copied out and sent to me in England, in 1891. I had not then time or knowledge enough to examine the extract fully, and so I sent it out to Calcutta to our Society, with some remarks. There it was received and partially analysed by Maulvī Abdul Hak Abid, 2nd Master of the Calcutta Madrasah, and eventually it was at my request, returned to me this year. I have now read the whole of it, and proceed to give an analysis of it, and a translation of such portions as appear interesting.[1] I feel that the book has been left to

[1] I desire to acknowledge my obligations to M. 'Abdu-s-salām, M.A., Deputy Magistrate, for his kindness in correcting my translation and in explaining the Arabic inscriptions, &c.

me as a sort of legacy by the author, who died in 1892 not long after he sent it to me.

The extract forms a quarto volume of 498 pages. It contains not only a description of Māldah and its antiquities, but also a history of Bengal from the earliest times down to 1863. It also contains the preface to the whole work, and a chapter giving some account of the author. From this I take the following particulars:—

Memoir.

Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh was born in 1240 A.H., or 1824 A.D., at English Bāzār, in the district of Māldah.[1] The family came originally from the Upper Provinces, and members of it had held high office under the kings of Bengal. Eventually, on account of old age, or for some other reason, they retired to the town of Māldah, where they settled in a quarter known as the Bērōzgār Ṭōla, or quarter of the unemployed—apparently because it was chiefly occupied by persons out of employ. This quarter was in the neighbourhood of Mughal Ṭōlā, and the well-known mosque of Ma'ṣūm Saudāgar. Then the family moved into another old quarter of Māldah called Sanak Mahan,[2] and eventually they came to English Bazār. The author's grandfather, Mihru-llāh, is buried at Old Māldah; but he appears to have lived at English Bazār, and in the service of the English Government, for the author's father, 'Alī Bakhsh was born there, as was also the author. His birth-place, he tell us, was in the quarter known as Cak Sayyad Anbīa. He spent all his life in English Bazār, and died there on 2nd March, 1892.

In his latter days he was Persian teacher in the District School. Ilāhī Bakhsh was a man of great simplicity of mind, and an enthusiastic student of history: perhaps, he acquired this taste from his friend and teacher Munshi 'Abdu-l-karīm, who in his turn was the pupil of Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm, the author of the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn. Perhaps, too, he became interested in Gauṛ from the fact that he inherited from his paternal aunt, some rent-free land in Ḥaẓratnagar, otherwise Qāẓīgāṍ, which is near the shrine of Makhdūm Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn. He also speaks at page 144, of visiting the tomb of an ancestor of his, named Mīr Karhān, who died at Māldah in 1199 A.H. (1784 A.D.).

I now proceed to give an account of his book.

Analysis.

Ilāhī Bakhsh entitled his book the Khūrshīd Jahān Numā, or the World-displaying Sun. The title is a chronogram, and yields the date 1270 A.H., or 1853 A.D., this being the time when the book was begun. He was occu-

[1] It is the head-quarters of the district and is often called Māldah, or New Māldah. Māldah, properly so called, is about five miles north of English Bazār, and is on the other, or eastern, side of the Mahānanda, opposite to its junction with the Kālindrī.

[2] Perhaps Shānk Mōhān.

pied with it, more or less, for the rest of his life; but he appears to have finished the history of Bengal in 1280 A.H., or 1863 A.D., for this is the date to which he has brought down his narration of events. Continuing the fancy of the title, he divided his book into twelve Būrj, or signs of the Zodiac. The first contained an account of the world, and the next five described America, Africa, Europe, Asia, Australia, and Polynesia, and the various races and religions of men. The 7th dealt with Prophets, the 8th with Philosophers, the 9th with Saints and Poets, the 10th with Teachers and Pupils, *i.e.*, I presume, Education, the 11th with Buildings, &c., and the 12th with an Account of the Author.

As usual, the work begins with praises of God and of Muḥammad. Then it proceeds to pronounce an eulogium on Munshi 'Abdu-l-karīm, the friend and instructor of the author. We are told that 'Abdu-l-karīm was originally an inhabitant of Bāṛh, in the district of Patna, that he came to Māldah and entered into the service of Ghulām Ḥusain, the author of the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, and who was at the time Ḍāk Munshī, or Postmaster, under Mr. George Udny. 'Abdu-l-karīm was for a time Bakhshī, or Assistant, to the Nāẓir, or Sheriff, and afterwards became a Mukhtar. He appears to have been a good Persian scholar, and one or two inscriptions for mosques which he composed, have been quoted by Ilāhī Bakhsh.

In the portion of the Khūrshīd Jahān Numā with which we are concerned, the first date given is that of the Deluge. The author tells us that this took place 2971 years before the era of the Hijra, a computation which gives us the same date as that assigned by Christian writers, for 2971—622= 2349 B.C. The reason that he comes to mention this date is that he, in accord with the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, derives the name of Bengal from Bang, the son of Hind, and the word *āl* meaning an embankment. The latter part of this derivation is also that adopted by Abū-l-faẓl. According to Ghulām Ḥusain and Ilāhī Bakhsh, Bang was the second son of Hind, who was the eldest of the six sons of Ham, and consequently a grandson of Noah.

After this, the author proceeds to describe Bengal and the Bengalis, and to give an account of each district. Much of this part is taken from the Riyāẓ and the Arāish-i-Maḥfil, and except for the account of Māldah, is not worth printing. It may be noticed here that Ghulām Ḥusain was a native of Zaidpūr in Oude, and that neither he nor Ilāhī Bakhsh seem to have considered themselves to be Bengalis. Both are rather severe on the Bengali character and customs, but Ilāhī Bakhsh has considerably softened Ghulām Ḥusain's remarks. The account of Māldah begins at page 111. The following are the only novelties which I noticed in the account of the other districts.

In the account of Calcutta, we have a list of the mosques and copies of the inscriptions on them. None of them, however, is old, and it is unnecessary to print them. Then at page 20, we have a Persian verse containing a pun on the name of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth). Shōr means salt or brackish in Persian, and so we are told in allusion to the climate and water, and to the name of the Governor-General.

آب شور و زمین سراسر شور [1]
شور فرمان روای کلکته

"The water is salt, and the land is altogether salt *(shōr)*.
And salt (Shore) is the ruler of Calcutta."

In the account of Murshidābād (page 44) the tomb of Shāh Martaẓī Anand, now washed away by the Bhāgīrathi, is noticed, and we are told the interesting fact, that the wife of this Muhammadan saint was a Brahman's daughter, and named Anandī. She and their son were buried beside him, and probably her name forms part of the word Mortousahanadi, which is given as a stage in the itinerary from Bengal to Lhassa, to be found in Tieffenthaler, Vol. III, p. 206. We are also told that the saint Shāh Martaẓī was a contemporary of Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī Fīrōzpūrī who was the spiritual guide of Sulṭān Shujā' and of whom the author gives a biography at page 204, in his account of Gauṛ. Shāh Ni'mat was a native of Karnaul, but died at Fīrōzpūr, a quarter of Gauṛ, in 1080 A.H., or 1669 A.D.

In the account of Cuttack, the dates of the erection of some buildings are given (pp. 47–49), but they are probably well known. Ilāhī Bakhsh also mentions, what I do not remember to have read elsewhere, that Kālā Pahār, the famous general of Sulaimān Kararānī, was a Brahman's son and became a Muhammadan owing to a princess of Gauṛ having fallen in love with him and having married him. That he was originally a Hindu appears probable from Mr. Blochmann's statement, that his real name was Rājū.[2]

The account of Māldah begins as I have stated, at page 111. This is the really valuable part of the book. The author had a great deal of local knowledge and he gives some inscriptions and many particulars which are not to be found in Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, or in Cunningham's Archæological Reports, or anywhere else, so far as I know. The praise which Major Stewart has bestowed on Ghulām Ḥusain, *viz.*, that he took considerable pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions on buildings, is still more deserved by Ilāhī Bakhsh. He must have worked very hard, and paid many visits to Gauṛ and Paṇḍuā, for he not only gives numerous inscriptions, but he also states the dimensions of the various buildings, and such traditions as he could collect about their origin, &c. No doubt it was some

1 Ilāhī Bakhsh has given only two lines. Some other lines from the same poet (probably Ghālib), who wrote a skit on Calcutta Society, may be here quoted :—

پارهٔ از زمیـــــن دوزخ بود * که بران شد بنـــــای کلکته
خارش و داد و پیچش و اسهال * این همـــه تحفه های کلکته
خانسامان و بوچهڑ و قصاب * این همـــه شرفا های کلکته

(Translation).

Calcutta was built on a portion of the region of hell. The gifts of Calcutta are itch, ringworm, dysentery and diarrhœa, and its gentry consist of butlers and butchers.

2 J. A. S. B., Vol. xliv., p. 303.

advantage to him to come after Ghulām Ḥusain, but he had the greater advantage of being born and bred in Māldah, whereas Ghulām Ḥusain seems only to have come there in the latter days of his life. Unfortunately for Ilāhī Bakhsh, many of the inscriptions which were unknown when he copied them, have been published in our *Journal* and in Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, &c., owing to the labours of Mr. Blochmann, Dr. Wise, Mr. Westmacott, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Heeley, General Cunningham, and others. I have endeavoured to separate the new from the old, and have given those which have been already published only when there is some difference of reading, &c.

Ilāhī Bakhsh praises the climate of Māldah, which, he says, is the best in Bengal. It was made a Joint-Magistracy, he tells us, in 1228 A.H. (1813), and the first Magistrate was Mr. William Braddon. He gives many statistics, and notices the inscription by Mr. Thomas Henchman, at the cutcherries in English Bāzār, dated 1771. I do not think, however, that there is anything new till we come to page 129, where he tells us of a tomb in English Bāzār called Ghōṛā Shāhīd. It is near the old silk factory known as the Barāh Khāna, and the people of Māldah worship and make offerings there. However, Munshī 'Abdu-l-karīm told the author that it was really the tomb of some (English ?) official of the Factory.

Noticing the Charitable Dispensary, the author observes that here used to be the house of Ghulām Ḥusain. Near here in front of a mosque, was placed "some years ago," a stone containing the important inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, dated 1st Ramzan 907 (10th March 1502), which records the building of a Madrasa. This is one of the inscriptions which Mr. Westmacott sent to Blochmann. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 303, and Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, p. 80. Ilāhī Bakhsh gives the inscription, but it need not be republished. It is situated at a mosque near the Police Station, and in the quarter known as Fīrōzpūr Imlī ṭōlā. He also notices, page 133, an inscription set up in an Imāmbārah in Cak Anbīā, and bearing the date 913 (1507) This I believe to be a new inscription. It is as follows :—

بني هذا المسجد مجلس المجالس مجلس اخيار
في سنة ثلثة عشرة و تسعمائة من هجر النبوية

"The builder of this mosque was the Majlisu-l-majālis, the excellent Majlis, in the year of the Flight 913."

It was in this quarter that the author was born. In the quarter known as Cak Qarbān Alī is the tomb of Ghulām Ḥusain, author of the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817. The chronogram, composed by 'Abdu-l-karīm is (1233) منشي ز عالم رفته. "The Munshi left the world."

At page 137 the places of interest near English Bāzār are noticed. The first is Ghaishpūr, about two miles north north-west of the cutcherries. It is the residence of a family of Gosains, who came from Khurdhā in Orissa. The author gives a genealogical tree of the family and speaks of one Āhil Bihārī as a distinguished member of it.

At page 138, Nīma Sarāī and its tower or minaret are noticed, and then the town of Māldah is described. At page 130, there is a description of

Ma'ṣūm Saudāgar's mosque, in Mughal-ṭōlā. The inscription with the date 974 (1566) is mentioned, but it is to be found in Ravenshaw, page 144. A shrine called Shāh Gadā is mentioned, where there is an inscription, dated 911 (1505) which has been removed from some mosque. This inscription is given in *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 294, No. 27.

At page 140 the Kaṭrah is noticed, and the author follows the author of the Riyāẓ in considering this to be the Sarai of the Emperor Fīrōz Shāh. He encamped at Māldah in 754 (1353) when he came to make war on Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, and so the quarter is called Fīrōzpūr to this day (See the Riyāẓ, page 96).

Phūṭī Masjid. This is the mosque called in Ravenshaw, page 44, the Fauti or Burial mosque. The real name, however, appears to be Phūṭī, *i.e.*, the cracked or broken mosque. The inscription on it is given in Ravenshaw, page 780, or *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, p. 302, but Ilāhī Bakhsh reads it somewhat differently from Mr. Blochmann. According to the former, the name of the builder is the Khān Ma'ẓam Alagh Shēr Dil Khān, and the date is 20th Shawwāl 900 (14th July, 1495). Near it is a tomb, which is probably that of the builder.

Sir Barī or Cut-head. This is a shrine north of the Kaṭrah, and west of the high road. People call it the shrine of the Pīr of Māldah and give the name of Māldah specially to this place. Some say it is the shrine of a martyr, and some say that when Ḥaẓrat Ānwar, the son of Nūr Quṭb, was put to death at Sōnārgāṓ by order of Rajah Kans (Ganesh), his head arrived at this place.

Mahalla Shānk Mōhān. In this quarter and west of the high road, there is a mosque built by Shaikh Faqīr Muḥammad and his son Shaikh Bhīkah. Over the door is an inscription, which must have formerly belonged to a mosque built in 876 (1471), in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. This inscription is given in *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, p. 298, and is referred to by Cunningham in his Archæological Report, XV, p. 78. But when Mr. Westmacott visited the place, it was impossible to obtain a clear reading. He thought the date to be 870. General Cunningham inclines to read it as 878.

Ilāhī Bakhsh's copy was made at an earlier date, and when the inscription was in better order. His reading is as follows :—

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بني الله له قصراً فى الجنة
مثله بني في امر السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابي المظفر يوسف شاه بن باربك شاه
بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته (some words are illegible). فى التاريخ
غرة جمادى الاولى سنة سبعين و ثما نمائة ٭

The Prophet of God (Blessing and peace be upon him) has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for God, God similarly builds a palace for him in Paradise.' Under order of the sovereign who is sun of the world and of religion, Abū-l-muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh son of Bārbak Shāh son of Maḥmūd Shāh (may God preserve his empire) this mosque was built on 1st Jamādīu-l-awwal, 870 A.H.

The inscription is an important one, for according to the usual chronology Yūsuf did not succeed his father Bārbak till 879. Ilāhī Bakhsh remarks that his date of 876[1] disagrees with the chronology of Yūsuf's reign. Blochmann suggests that Yūsuf built it when he was prince.

The author now proceeds to Paṇḍuā. This is an important part of his book. His account of the two shrines there—that of Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī, The Twenty-two Thousand, and that of Nūr Quṭb, or the Six Thousand, is very full, and has some interesting features. I have, therefore, translated nearly the whole of it.

Paṇḍuā was a large city in old times, and is situated twelve miles north of Angrēzābād (English Bāzār). It used to be well peopled, and from the beginning of the reign of Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās Shāh to the end of the reign of Rajah Kans six kings ruled there for the period of fifty-two years.[2] In 795 A.H. (1392) Jalālu-d-dīn, the son of Rajah Kans, removed the seat of sovereignty to Gauṛ. It appears that in his father's time many idol-temples were erected, and that these fell into decay on Jalālu-d-dīn's[3] accession. Yet the city was still populous during his reign. Now it is full of jungle and the abode of wild animals All that is left are the houses occupied by the keepers of the shrines of the saints Shāh Jalāl of Tabrīz and Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam. The climate too of the city is now very bad. Although there are remains of many old buildings in the jungle, the following are the most important and those which are in a state of preservation.

I.

The buildings of the Barī Dargāh or Great Shrine.

These consist of the Arba'īn Khāna[4] or Quadragesimal House and other buildings of Ḥaẓrat[5] Shāh Jalāl Tabrīzī. The original shrine

[1] Though the copy of the inscription gives 870, the author states the date to be 876.

[2] From 743–795, but the author might perhaps have included 'Alī Mubārak, the predecessor of Shamsu-d-dīn, and who reigned according to one account for a year and five months, and according to another for five years. His reign is supposed to have begun in 741 (1340) and from the tenor of Ghulām Ḥusain's narrative, *viz.*, the story about the building of the shrine of Jalālu-d-dīn, and the statement that Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās arrived at Paṇḍuā, it would appear that 'Alī Mubārak had his capital at Paṇḍuā. Mr. Blochmann also calls Paṇḍuā 'Alī Shāh's capital, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 254.

[3] Jalālu-d-dīn received this name from Nūr Quṭb, his original name having been Jadu. Probably he was called Jalālu-d-dīn in allusion to the saint. It is interesting to find that there is a village in Māldah near Bhōlānāth, called Jādunagar. See M. S., p. 181.

[4] Arb'aīn Khāna and Makān Arb'aīn are synonyms for Cillakhāna and mean the house or cell occupied by Muhammadan saints during their Lent.

[5] I suspect that Paṇḍuā is called Ḥaẓrat on account of the saints and not of the Sultans.

was erected by Sulṭān 'Alī Mubārak at the instance of the saint in 742 A.H. (1341), and is now so destroyed that no trace of it remains.[1] Some of the existing buildings were put up by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī of Fīrōzpūr (in Gauṛ), and some by other persons. The list is as follows :—

I.—The large Arba'īn Khāna. This quadragesimal cell of the saint is a spacious building, facing the east, and was erected by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī, in 1075 A.H. (1664). This date is engraved on the east of the building, at the left hand side in the following chronogram :[2]—

چون این عالي عمارت یافت ترتیب
شده تاریخ روشن آستـــــان باد

When this grand building was completed, the date was ——. "Bright be the Shrine."

And in another place it is written.[3]

این عمارت حضرت شاه جلال است
راست کرد حضـــرت شاه نعمـــت الله

"This is the building of the holy Shāh Jalāl. The holy Shāh Ni'matu-llāh repaired it."

The silver water vessels, which the Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulā presented, still exist in the Arba'īn Khāna. Mr. U. C. Batabyā informs me that the gift was really a Kāṭrā or silver railing, and that it has disappeared.

II.—The Lakkhan Sēnī Dalān. This building was also erected by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh. It is on the edge of the tank inside the Baṛī Dargāh. There is an inscription on a stone on the west wall of this building which runs as follows.

استانهٔ معظم حضرت مخدوم شاه جلال تبریز - از سید شاه نعمت الله مرتب شده - چون جنوب رویه استقامت پشته نداشته بنابر بتولیت قبولیت ٭ هیبت الله عمارت عظمی قدري جنبش کرده بود - محمد علي ساکن برجیه متصدي گري قرار یافته - در استقامت (؟) رام رام پسر بیکل راج را مقرر نموده بتاریخ ۲۲ رجب المرجب سنه ۱۱۳۴ هجري مطابق سنه ۱۱۱۹ بنگله مرتب در آمد ٭

1 Ghulam Ḥusain, writing in 1786, speaks of there still being traces of the building (text, page 95).

2 The inscription is in Ravenshaw, page 45. But I give it, because the word shrine is there translated "Mausoleum." This gives a wrong impression, for the inscription says nothing about a tomb, and in fact Jalālu-d-dīn is not buried in Panduā.

3 This is not in Ravenshaw, &c.

The shrine of Shāh Jalāl Tabrīz was built by Sayyad Shāh Ni'matu-llāh. As the south-side wall of it was not strong, so during the time when Haibatu-llāh was Mutwallī, the building was shaken considerably. Muḥammad 'Alī, of Barjī, being appointed manager, he set Rām Rām son of Bīkal Rāj (this is not quite legible) to repair it. On the 22nd Rajab 1134 A.H., corresponding to 1119 Bengali, the shrine was re-built.

It would be interesting to know how the building came to be known as the house of Lakkhan Sēn, *i.e.*, Lakṣmaṇa Sēna.

III.—The Bhāṇḍār Khāna or Storehouse. This is a building facing the south, and was erected by Cānd Khān in 1084 (1673). The inscription is as follows (See Ravenshaw's Gaur, page 45).

IV.—The Tanūr Khāna, or House of the Oven. There is an oven in this house, which the saint is said to have put on his head and broiled meat in for his teacher. God knows if this is true. On the south side of one of the buildings there is an inscription recording that it was built by Sa'du-llāh in 1093 (1682). The inscription is as follows (not reproduced as it is in Ravenshaw, pages 45 and 46).

Some account of Ḥaẓrat Jalālu-d-dīn.

He was born at Tabrīz in Persia, and was a pupil of Shaikh Abū Sayyad of that city. After his teacher's death, he became the servant of Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn Suhrawardī, and performed offices for him such as no other saint's pupil ever did. It is said that Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn used to make the pilgrimage to Mecca every year, but that, being old and feeble, he could not digest the food that was provided for the journey. So Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn put a dēghdānī (a stove [1]) on his head and a pot in that, and always kept the stove alight, so that, whenever the Shaikh called for food, he could give him a hot meal. Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn was on friendly terms with Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn and Shaikh Bāhāu-d-dīn Zakaryā and came to Delhi in the time of the Khwāja. Shaikh Najamu-d-dīn Saghrī Shaikhu-l-islām, whose tomb is beside that of Barhānu-d-dīn of Balkh, was on bad terms with Jalālu-d-dīn, and brought an odious charge against him, and so troubled him, that he had to leave Delhi and go to Bengal.[2] When he came there he sat down by some water and then got up and performed his ablutions, and

[1] The utensil is still at Paṇḍuā, but is covered over with clay, and the original metal (copper) is not discernable.

[2] Abū-l-faẓl says that Jalālu-d-dīn was saved from the charge by the damangīrī of Bāhāu-d-dīn Zakaryā. This phrase probably only means support or assistance. See the story at length in the Siyaru-l-Ārifīn of Ḥamīd commonly called Darvish Jamāh. Bāhāu-d-dīn made the woman confess that she had been suborned by Najamu-d-dīn, and that Jalālu-d-dīn was purer than the water of life.

said to those about him that he was saying prayers for the Shaikhu-l-islām as he had just died. And so it turned out. After prayers he said to those present: As the Shaikhu-l-islām sent me out of Delhi, so has my Shaikh Mulla-bhai sent him out of the world.[1]

The saint acquired property in Bengal and bequeathed it to faqirs and the poor. So the property is under the control of the shrine, and is known as the 'Twenty-two Thousand.' The Fātiha of the saint has from of old been held in the month of Rajab, and faqīrs of all sorts, and many laymen assemble from the beginning to the 22nd of the month. And on the day of the Fātiha, *i.e.*, the 22nd, 22 cattle, 22 sheep, 22 maunds of rice, and other things in the same proportion are expended. And besides this, food is distributed to travellers throughout the year. The relics of the saint, *viz.*, his oven and a book in Nāgarī[2] characters, containing an account of his acts are preserved to the present day in the endowment. His tomb is in the port of Deo Maḥāl in Bengal. His death occurred in 738 A.H. (1337). The date is expressed in the words—

جلال الدین جلال الله جلال عارفان بود

"Jalālu-d-dīn was the glory (*jalāl*) of God, and the glory of saints."[3]

But some people say that this is the date when he went away from Paṇḍuā, and did not come back again.

The Choṭī Dargāh.

"The shrine of Ḥaẓrat Nūr Quṭb is north-west of the Baṛī Dargāh and less than half-a-mile from it. Here the saint and many other holy men are laid at rest. His family too is buried here, their graves being west and north of his, and though they have been injured by time, the gate-way and the well still exist.

The Makān Arb'aīn or Cillakhāna. This is close to his tomb and on the west side of it. Although this building is old, the roof, &c., are new. On the east side there are three doors, and over each there is an inscription, which formerly belonged to some other building. The right

[1] According to the Siyaru-l-Ārifīn of Jarālī Kāmbū, this instance of second sight took place at Badaon. The same author mentions that Sultan Altamsh deposed Najamu-d-dīn when the falsehood of his charge was discovered, and appointed Bāhāu-d-dīn in his room.

[2] Mr. Batabyal informs me that the book is not in Nāgarī characters. It is Sanskrit, and is said to have been written by Hālāyudha the minister of Lakṣmaṇasēna. It ought to be published.

[3] The letters appear to me to yield the date 737 and not 738. This chronogram has not, I believe, been published before.

hand one had belonged to a mosque built in 915 (1509) in the regn of Ḥusain Shāh. The one on the left hand had belonged to a mosque built in the time of Naṣru-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh. Neither of these inscriptions is very legible.

The middle inscription belonged to the Ṣufī Khāna of the saint, and is in small letters. The wording is as follows:—(See Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, p. 77).[1] It appears from this inscription that the Ṣufī Khāna was built in 898 (1493). The Muḥammad Ghauṣ mentioned in it was a descendant of Ḥaẓrat Nūr Quṭb.[2]

II.—The Sijdā Gāh, or Praying Station. This is a wall close to the Makān Arba'īn on the north side. On the top of this wall I saw the following long inscription. (Ravenshaw, pp. 50 and 74).[3] It is clear that this inscription originally belonged to a mosque built in 884 (1479) in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh.

III.—Masjid Qāẓī Nūr. This is a brick mosque with three cupolas near the tomb of Makhdūm Alāu-l-ḥāqq. The length from north to south is 36 cubits, and its breadth 16 cubits. There is no inscription. The people of Paṇḍuā say Qāẓī Nūr is a different person from Nūr Quṭb.

IV.—The Mīṭhā Talāo or Sweet Tank.[4] Near the terrace of Nūr Quṭb's tomb, on the east side, there is an old masonry tank, that was dug in the time of Alāu-l-ḥāqq. On the east ghāṭ of this tank, at the right hand side, I saw an inscription that had formerly belonged to some mosque. It is as follows:—

کرد تعمیـــر مسجـــدی چون ماه
چاند بن دریا خان تـــــــت شاه
گفـــــت تاریخ آن خرد در گوش
گوي واضح مکان معظ ـــــــم جاه

[1] The inscription is also given in *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 289, and in Cunningham. Arch. R., XV, 84. In Ravenshaw, and in *J. A. S. B.*, the inscription is wrongly described as coming from Gauṛ.

[2] His name appears in the genealogical tree in Hāhī Bakhsh's MS., p. 161. Apparently he was the grandson of Nūr Quṭb's eldest son Rafī'u-d-dīn.

[3] See also Cunningham, l. c., 85 and *J. A. S. B.*, LII, 276. The mosque was erected by an officer called the Majlisu-l-majālis. The same person built a mosque at Paṇḍuā in Hooghly, in 882, and another at Sylhet. He perhaps also built the Māldah mosque of 876.

[4] I am not sure, if Mīṭhā here means sweet. It is curious that there is a tank of this name in Vikrampur, Dacca, in the centre of Balāl Bārī. See Taylor's Topography of Dacca, 102. There is a tank too of that name in Rangpur. It was the scene of the last prank of Rajah Bhava candra, and the explanation of the name given to me was, that it was the tank of the final settlement or conclusion. May not the word be connected with Mithilā, the old name of Tirhoot?

Cānd, the son of Daryā Khān who was a subordinate of the King built a moon-like mosque. Genius whispered for the date, 'Say publicly Makān Ma'ẓam Jāh, (1170=1756).[1]

I have heard that Cānd Khān and his father Daryā Khān held high offices, in Bengal, in the reign of Aurangzēb, and I also heard that Cānd Khān had come to Paṇḍuā on behalf of the Nāẓim of Dacca. Besides the Bhāṇḍār Khāna connected with the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Jalāl Tabrīzī at Paṇḍuā, Cānd Khān built a mosque there in 1170 A.H., as is evident from the former inscription. At present this mosque has been destroyed. It is also probable that it is his father Daryā Khān is the same whose tomb is in the jungle east of Shāhpūr and who wrote the book called Kitāb Sarīrī. 'The Book of the Thrones.' (See p. 178 of MS., where the author describes the grave as a large tomb made of Sangmaḥak, *i.e.*, touchstone or black basalt, and says that the Kitāb Sarīrī is a translation of the Siṁhāsan Battīsī, or 32 Tales of a Throne).[2]

V.—The Copper Drums. In the shrine of Haẓrat Nūr Quṭb there are two large copper drums which apparently were presented by Nawāb Qāṣim Khān Nāẓim of Bengal, as his name appears on their edge.

It appears that one of the descendants of Nūr Quṭb, was Sharīf Sarīfu-d-dīn, the son of Niẓāmu-d-dīn, and that some Sultan, probably Ḥusain Shāh, presented him with 47 villages rent-free for the support of the endowment. In course of time the documents became decayed and were shown by Shaikh Kabīr, the Superintendent for the time being, to Sulṭān Shujā'. The latter made a fresh grant to Shaikh Kabīr, dated 25th Sha'bān in the 22nd year of the reign (of Shāh Jahān) corresponding to 1058 (1648). This grant with Sulṭan Shujā''s signature on it is still in the possession of the descendants of Nūr Quṭb. The older one has disappeared."

Ilāhī Bakhsh then gives details about Alāu-l-ḥāqq, the father of Nūr Quṭb, and about the saint himself. These seem to be taken from books, and not from local traditions, and contain little of importance in addition to the biographies given by Mr. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 261 and 262. However, I subjoin his account of Alāu-l-ḥāqq.

[1] The inscription is not given in Ravenshaw, &c. The date must be wrong, if Cānd Khān belonged to Aurangzēb's reign, and Ilāhī Bakhsh seems to have forgotten that the date of the Bhāṇḍār Khāna in the Baṛī Dargāh is 1084 or nearly a hundred years earlier. Perhaps the chronogram should only begin with Ma'ẓam. If so, the date would be 1059 (1649).

[2] Daryā Khān's translation is in our Library. See Catalogue of Persian MSS. p. 34, No. $\frac{D}{214}$ of Fasciculus I. It does not contain any notice of the author. The date given in the preface is 1084 (1674).

SHAIKH ALĀU-L-ḤAQQ WA AD-DĪN.

He was the son of Asa'd of Lahore, father of Nūr Quṭb, and the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn Uṣmān, otherwise Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn. He belonged to the wealthy and powerful classes, and they say that when Shaikh Ākhī Sirāj obtained the khalīfat (successorship) from Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā and departed for Bengal, he represented that a man of knowledge and rank lived there, and asked how he should manage with him. Niẓāmu-d-dīn replied, "Do not be anxious, he will be your servant, (Khādim)." And so it turned out. They say that Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn used to be carried about[1] the country, and that cooked food used to be taken along with him, and that his servants would put a hot pot on Shaikh Alāu-l-ḥaqq's head, so that his hair got all burnt off. And he had to pass in this guise before the houses of his relations who were kings' ministers.

Shaikh Alāu-l-ḥaqq spent much. The king of the country was jealous, and said "my treasury is in the hands of the Shaikh's father, he gives to the Shaikh." So he ordered that the Shaikh be turned out of the city, and sent to Sōnārgāō. He was there for two years, but told his servant[2] (Khādim) to spend every day twice as much as before. He did so, and so the Shaikh spent very much, and yet no source of income was apparent. He had two gardens from his ancestors, of which the income was 8,000 *tankhas*, but some one seized them, and he made no remonstrance. He made presents without end, and used to say "I don't spend a tenth part of what my Makhdūm (Shaikh Ākhī otherwise Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn) possesses."[3]

He died in 800 (1398), but in a book in the possession of the

[1] The word is suwārī, and may mean horseback, or a litter.

[2] I presume that this was an instruction to the servants left behind at Paṇḍuā.

[3] I am not sure, if I have translated this sentence correctly. According to Ferishta, l. c, II, p 748, three lines from foot, it was Naṣīru-d-dīn Audhī, commonly known as the Lamp of Delhi, who comforted Shaikh Ākhī. Ferishta says that, though Shaikh Ākhī was deputed to Bengal by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, he returned to Delhi after Niẓāmu-d-dīn's death, and received his investiture and the khalīfat of Bengal from Naṣīru-d-dīn. Shaikh Ākhī, whom Ferishta calls Shaikh Ākhī Sirāj Parwāna, represented to Naṣīru-d-dīn his difficulty about Alāu-l-ḥaqq, and Naṣīru-d-dīn said to him in Hindi "*Tum upar, wē tal, i. e.*, you are superior, he is inferior." And then Ferishta tells how, when Shaikh Ākhī returned to Bengal, Alāu-l-ḥaqq at first treated him with disdain, but afterwards repented and humbled himself. It may be worth noting that Naṣīru-d-dīn and Shaikh Ākhī were fellow-countrymen, both coming from Oudh.

The date 800 is given as that of Alāu-l-ḥaqq's death in the Riyāzu-l-auliyā of Bakhtāwar Khān, Brit. Mus. Catalogue, &c. 1745, p. 975.

Khādim of the shrine, I saw that his death was on 25 Rajab 786 (1384), and that the chronogram was

علاء الحق بحق واصل شد

Alāu-l-ḥaqq, has attained God!

His Fâtiḥa also is celebrated on 25 Rajab.

In the account of Nūr Quṭb we are told that the saint in obedience to his father's wishes used to draw water from the tank, and that at the present day the faqirs and others carry pots of water from the Mīṭhā Talāo on his Fātiḥa, which is on the Shab-i-Barāt. This custom is known by the name of Pan-bharī = "Pāni-bharī, *i.e.*, water-carrying."

He also quotes from some letters written by Nūr Quṭb. These are I suppose, the letters to which Abū-l-faẓl refers in his memoir of the saint (*Āīn*, Jarrett's translation III, 371.)

Chronologists have differed as to the date of the saint's death. Some say he died in 808, and some say, in 848, and some say, in 813. and some say, in 851. The chronogram for the last is Shamsu-l-ḥidāyat.[1] In the book of the custodian of the shrine, it is written that he died on the 9th Ẕū-l-qa'da 818 (1415) and the chronogram is

نور بنور شد

"Light went to Light."[2]

But the author saw a small stone over the door of the kitchen in Nūr Quṭb's shrine with an inscription which probably relates to the death of the saint, and may have fallen down from his tomb and been placed where it now is.

The author then gives the inscription which is to be found in Ravenshaw, pp. 52 and 72, in Cunningham l. c., 33, and in *J. A. S. B.*, 271. But he gives the date as 18th Ẕū-l-ḥijja 833, instead of 28th Ẕū-l-ḥijja 863, as given by Blochmann. Ilāhī Bakhsh, however, must be wrong, for the king, Naṣīru-d-dīn Ābū-l-muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, whose name is mentioned in the inscription, did not begin to reign till 845. 863 is, I think, an impossible date for the death of a man who was a contemporary and fellow-student[3] of

1 "Sun of Guidance." This is the chronogram accepted by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 262. Ravenshaw gives yet another date, *viz.*, 828.

2 It is interesting to find that in the Riyāẓu-l-auliyā of Bakhtāwar Khān, which was written in 1019 A.H., or 1679, the date of Nūr Quṭb's death is given as 818, and the day of the month is apparently 19th Ẕū-l-qa'da (p. 175). As Abū-l-faẓl seems to have copied his accounts of the saint from the Riyāẓu-l-auliya, his 808 is probably a clerical error for 818. This last I look upon as the true date.

3 Ilāhī Bakhsh says they were both pupils of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Ganj nishīn Nāgōrī. Abū-l-faẓl, Aīn III, 367 (Jarrett's translation), mentions two Ḥamīdu-d-dīns of Nāgōr, but both belong to the 7th century A.H. Ferishta mentions that Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Kākī died in 634 (1236) with his head on Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Nāgōrī's knees.

Sulṭan Ghayāṣu-d-dīn and whose father died (after the son was grown up) in 786, or at latest in 800. 833 and 851 are also, I think, too late, especially as Nūr Quṭb's brother A'ẓam Khān is said to have been the Wazīr of Muḥammad Tughluk who died in 752.[1] There is, however, a way of explaining the inscription which is compatible with chronology, and with the suggestion that it belongs to Nūr Quṭb's tomb. This is to take the date 863, as referring to the erection of the tomb by Laṭīf Khān, and not to that of the death of the saint. This is how Sir Alexander Cunningham, l. c., p. 85, has understood it, though he seems to have overlooked the fact that Blochmann's translation, which he has accepted, makes 863 the date of the death. Apparently it is only a question of punctuation. A little alteration in this will make the date refer to the erection of the tomb, and this is perhaps which we should naturally expect to be the case. For the object of the inscription seems to be to moralise on the inevitableness of death. This is enforced by the fact that the Sun of the Faith, &c., also tasted death. Possibly this Sun of the Faith, &c., may be Nūr Quṭb, though one might have looked for a clearer reference to his name or title, *viz.*, the Pole Star. It may mean the Prophet Muḥammad.

Ilāhī Bakhsh mentions that on one of the pillars of Nūr Quṭb's tomb, on the right hand side, there is an inscription which says that the pillars were presented by Pīrzād Khān in the year 1000 (1592). I do not find that this inscription has been published anywhere, though Cunningham says[2] that the fifth pillar at the head of the sarcophagus has a Persian inscription. The poetry is illegible.

Ilāhī Bakhsh then proceeds to give notices of Shaikh Rafaqu-d-dīn and Shaikh Anwar, the eldest and younger sons of Nūr Quṭb.

Rafaqu-d-dīn was celebrated for his humility, and used to say that he was of less account than a market-dog. His tomb is beside his father's. Shaikh Ānwar is said to have died a martyr at Sōnārgāō at the hands of Rajah Kans. He was famous for his generosity and used to have sheep fattened and killed for the faqīrs, though he did not touch the meat himself. His tomb is near his father and brother.

The author has already referred to him in his account of the place in Māldah called Sir Barī.

Between the tombs of the two sons, there are two graves which the custodians say are those of two brothers, who were devoted servants of Nūr Quṭb. One was called Ma'inu-l-islām and the other Āinu-l-islām. It appears from the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn (110) that a Shaikh Ma'inu-l-islām Ābas was the father of Badaru-l-islām. Perhaps this is his tomb.

Shaikh Zāhid was the son of Rafaqu-d-dīn and grandson of Nūr Quṭb. He had ten sons. His death was 17th Rabī'u-l-awwal 860 (1455). The chronogram is (860) حُب دنیا چیزے نداشت

[1] See Blochmann, l. c. He admits the difficulty caused by this circumstance.

[2] I, l. c., 83.

"He regarded the world as of no account."

His tomb is beside his father's on the south side, and his prayer-stone lies just to the west. Shaikh A'ẓam Shāh commonly known as Khān A'ẓam, was the elder brother of Nūr Quṭb, and was a King's Vizier. As'ad of Lahore was the father of Alāu-l-ḥaqq and grandfather of Nūr Quṭb. He was a King's Treasurer. Ādam Saudāgar was the father-in-law (?) of Nūr Quṭb. His grave is near Alāu-l-ḥaqq's on the south side, and near it lies the inscription of Ādam Saudāgar. The tomb of Shāh Ikrām is outside of the enclosure of Nūr Quṭb's tomb and on the east side. It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long and a little less than 5 cubits broad. When I asked who he was, one of the custodians said that he was a superintendant of the endowment. Near the tomb of Alāu-l-ḥaqq are the tombs of his wife and daughter, and of his wife's sister.

The genealogical tree of Nūr Quṭb is as follows:—

It is not of sufficient importance to be published. The author mentions that descendants of Nūr Quṭb are still living in the village of Eklakkhī, in the district of Burdwan. I do not know if this name is a reminiscence of the Eklakkhī mosque.[1]

The author notices the tomb of a child, the son of a prince of Subzawār in Khurāsan named 'Ināyatu-llāh. He gives the inscription, but it is in Ravenshaw, p. 53. The child died on 1st Ramzān 1017 (1608). The people call it the tomb of the Kālā Pīr. The tomb is of black basalt, and near Alāu-l-ḥaqq. Here too is the tomb of Shēr Khān, a soldier in the service of the prince of Subzawār. The inscription is "Shēr Khān, son of Jōhar Khān."

The Quṭb Shāhī Mosque.

"This is near the shrine and lies north-east of it, in the jungle. It is built entirely of stone. The roof has fallen in, but the walls, &c., and pulpit are standing. Its length from north to south is 50 cubits and breadth 28 cubits, and it has ten cupolas. From the inscription it appears that it was begun by Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muḥammadu-l-khālidī, in 990 (1582), and was finished in four years. It also appears that Makhdūm was a descendant of Nūr Quṭb.

The following inscription in Tughra characters is in two lines over the doorway."

Sir Alexander Cunningham observes, l. 87. "There are three inscriptions belonging to this mosque, and that they are all *in situ*. ..... Imperfect copies of the first and last have been given by Ravenshaw, who does not, however, notice the pulpit."

[1] The property of the Twenty-two Thousand endowment is in the Burdwan district, and perhaps Nūr Quṭb's is there also.

As Ilāhī Bakhsh has given all three, they are now printed from his MS.

بر بالاي دروازه

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً في الدنيا بنى الله له سبعين قصراً في الجنة بني هذا المسجد شيخ المعظم و المكرم مخدوم شيخ بن محمدن الخالدي صاحب مقام مقام قطب الاقطاب راس الاصواب قطب عالم خادم شيخ نور مد الله ظله و امتع له الله آثاره - المسمي هذا المسجد قطب شاهي - و تاريخه - مخدوم عبيـــد راجي *

(Over the doorway.)

The Prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) has said, whoever in this world has erected a mosque for God, God will build for him in Paradise seventy palaces. This mosque was built by Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muḥammadu-l-khalidī, who was of saintly virtue, leader of the pious, and servant of Shaikh Nūr (May his shadow continue). This mosque is called the Qutb Shāhī mosque and its date is Makhdūm 'Abaid Rājī (990 A.H.) = Makhdūm who is the humble servant, hopeful of God's mercy.

و اين قطعه بر سر منبر مرقوم

قطعه

بين نيک اين مرغ دايم بصحرا و محتاج * مگـــر سازد بمنقـــار نسيم دين منظـــوم
رسيدش كز كرم چون مستجابت اين تاريخ * بآمد مسجد بنيان خرچ بر زيب از مخدوم [1]

سنة ٩٩٣

(In front of the pulpit.)

See well this bird always a-field and in want; perhaps it adds melody with its throat (*lit.* beak) to the breeze of faith. This date was fixed by liberality accepted for it. بآمد مسجد بنيان خرچ بر زيب از مخدوم 993 A. H.

هذا باب المسجد الذي بني الفقير الحقير مخدوم شيخ بن محمدن الخالدي - عالي مقام سماء شمس الشريعة قمر كان الحقيقة هادئ راه مراداة مخدوم المعظم مخدوم قطب عالم تلالى الله بمضجعه - تاريخه اتمت باب مسجد - سنة ٩٩٣ -

The gate of this mosque was built by the faqīr Makhdūm Shaikh son of Muḥammadu-l-khalidī, who was a saint of high rank, sun of religion, and the moon of truth, shower of the way to hopes (May God illuminate his grave). Date 993 A.H.[1]

[1] The words are illegible, and their meaning more or less unintelligible. As given above, they do not yield the date 993. Perhaps the words should read in the second line of the second couplet بامید مسجد بنیان زیب ز مخدوم, which yield 993.

The Eklakhī Mosque.

"This is a brick building and has one lofty dome. Its length from north to south is 50 cubits and its breadth 46 cubits, the height of the wall is 17 cubits, and of the dome 27 cubits. There are four small doors on each side of the building, and at the top of the south door there is a small idol of stone, the face, &c., of which has been broken. There is no writing. It appears from this that the lintel must have belonged to some idol-temple. There are three graves inside and the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn says that one tomb is that of Jalālu-d-dīn, the son of Rajah Kans, and that the other two belong to his wife and son. This mosque is north-east of the Quṭb Shāhi mosque, and by the side of the high road. I imagine that the western tomb, which is the highest, is that of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn, that the one to the east is that of his son Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh, and that the middle one is the tomb of his wife."

The Ādīna Mosque.

The author describes this mosque at some length, but I do not think that his measurements, &c., need be given after the elaborate descriptions by Ravenshaw and Cunningham, and in Vol. VII of the Historical Account of Bengal. He notices a masonry tomb near the pulpit, at the fourth dome and close to the well, which the Paṇḍuā people say, is that of a faqīr who lived in the mosque long ago.

He also describes the tomb[1] of Sikandar Shāh, the builder of the mosque, and observes that the tomb proper, or sarcophagus, which is inside of a square chamber, is 9 cubits long from north to south, and 7½ cubits broad.

Ancient men of Māldah and Paṇḍuā say that Sikandar Shāh was of lofty stature, and that he measured four cubits according to the measurement of his own arm. Certainly they call him Iskandar Chōṭā.[2] It is worth observing that in front of the *chaukaṭh* (lintel) of the Adīna mosque, there was a broken and polished idol, and that under the steps, near the pulpit, there was another broken idol, and that there were other idols lying about. So it appears that, in fact, this mosque was originally an idol-temple. Certainly Sikandar Shāh, the son of Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās Shāh made a beautiful mosque. He built it in the month of Rajab 776 (1374), and the building was not completed before the founder was struck down by the spade of death. On the east side of the high road, over the false (naqlī) door, and behind the pulpit, there is

1 According to Dr. Taylor, Sikandar was buried in Goalpāra, in the vicinity of Jāfarganj, l. c., 109.

2 Perhaps this means Alexander the Younger, and not Alexander the Less.

the following inscription very beautifully written in the Tughrā character and in one line.

The text has already been published by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 257. But as there is a word near the beginning which Mr. Blochmann left doubtful, and as Ilāhī Bakhsh reads the date differently from Mr. Blochmann, I produce here the former's copy, and also his note on the doubtful word. He thinks it may be Al jāma', *i.e.*, the cathedral mosque.

كتابه

أمر ببناء هذه العمارة المسجد الحايا (؟ الجامع) فى الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابى المجاهد سلطان سكندر شاه بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود كتبه فى التاريخ رجب سنة ست وسبعين و سبعمائة (٧٧٦) .

It was ordered to build this mosque in the reign of the illustrious king, who is most learned, respected, and perfect amongst the kings of 'Arabia and 'Ajam, who hopes for help from God, Abū-l-majāhid Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh son of Īlyās Shāh Sulṭān (May God preserve his throne till doomsday). Date inscribed to commemorate the building, 776 A.H.[1]

As regards the date, I am unable to come to any conclusion. Buchanan had it read to him as 704, and this is no doubt what is on the stone. That is, the Arabic word for the numeral is Sab'a (7) and not Sab'ain (70) as the facsimile in Ravenshaw, p. 70, shows. Ilāhī Bakhsh admitted this to me when I saw him at Māldah, but remarked with truth that the date 707 was quite inconsistent with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. There is certainly a *six* in the inscription, but Blochmann has taken this to refer to the month, and in this he seems supported by the words *fīu-t-tārīkh*, which would lead us to expect to find the day, and not merely the month of erection. On the other hand Ghulām Ḥusain must have read the six as relating to the year, for he gives the date as 766. He was obliged to make it 766 instead of 776, because his idea was that Sikandar died in 769. It may be remarked, too, that 776 is more consistent with Sikandar's not having been able to complete the mosque than 770, for it seems that he reigned up to 792, though his latter years were troubled by his son Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. As the word in the inscription is Sab'a, *i.e.*, 7, and not 70, might it not be that the engraver wrote six, seven and seven hundred, *i.e.*, 776? I suppose it would be a grammatical error to write the date in this way, but then Mr Blochmann tells us that there are numerous such errors in the Bengal

[1] Note by Ilāhī Bakhsh :—

The word الحايا can read as الجامع, and also may mean 'to include,' 'to embrace.'

Arabic inscriptions. They often consist, he says,[1] of "wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals." He does not say that they mis-spell them.

Satāīsghaṛa.[2]

This is also described at some length, but the author has not been able to add much to our knowledge of the origin of the place, &c. It was surrounded with jungle in his time.

He describes the remains of Baths at the place, and suggests that these may be the Baths, or Ḥauẓ, which, according to the Riyāẓ, Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās constructed in imitation of the Ḥauẓ-i-Shamsī of Delhi.[3]

He also notices the beautiful tank at Satāīsghaṛa, and says it is known by the name of Naṣīr Shāh's tank.[4] This, I suppose, must be the Nāsiru-d-dīn Abū-l-muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, who reigned from about 846–864, and in whose time the inscription now in the kitchen of Nūr Quṭb's shrine was put up. He succeeded to the dynasty of Rajah Kans, and restored that of Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās Shāh. If it was he who made the tank, then the probability is increased that the Baths were made by his ancestor, for he would naturally revert to the palace of his forefathers.

In connection with Satāīsghar, Ilāhī Bakhsh notices Makhdūm Shaikh Raja Biyābānī (King of the Wilds),[5] who was a saint of great fame in the time of Īlyās Shāh. He says he died in 754 (1353), while the king was being besieged by the Emperor Fīrōz Shāh, and then, following the Riyāẓ, p. 97,[6] he tells how Īlyās Shāh came out of his fort, disguised as a faqīr, and paid the last honours to the saint, and returned without the Emperor being aware of it.

Ilāhī Bakhsh throws no light on the situation of Ekdālā,[7] only remarking at p. 256, and apparently without authority, that Ekdālā was near Gauṛ. See note, Appendix A., pp. 227 and ff. He intended to give particulars of the site of Makhdūm Shaikh's tomb, but has left them blank in his MS. He notices Dēvṭōlā, but gives less information about it than Cunningham, l. c., 94. He only says that many saints are buried there, and that a Cillakhāna of Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī is there.

Among places of minor importance, are noticed, Kaṇḍārun, where is the shrine of the saint Nūr Jahān, Kātīgāōn, the original home of the

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., 257 note.

[2] The name is perhaps Satāīsh ghar, the 27 houses.

[3] See the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn. Persian text. Bib. Ind, p. 96, and *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 255.

[4] According to Ravenshaw, p. 67, the local tradition is that the tank was made by Arjuna Pāṇḍava.

[5] Such may be the meaning of the title, but more probably the name is connected with Rānī Bahānī, the foundress of Ekdālā. See Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 115.

[6] See Appendix A. Note on the site of Ekdālā.

[7] It may be noted that the Fīrōzpūr mentioned in the Riyāẓ, p. 96, as the place where the Emperor encamped, is a ward in Old Māldah.

famous Gōpālbhōg mangoes, the Dargāh of Pīr Ḥusain near Māldah[1] where there is a stone with an inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, dated 10th Zū-l-qa'da 899 (13th August 1494). The author gives the inscription, but it has already been published, being one of those discovered by Mr. Westmacott. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 301. At a place called Jaharpāl (?) and also called Baglahagī (?) and which is on the east bank of the Mahānanda there are two inscriptions, *viz.*, one of 918 (1512) of Ḥusain Shāh's time, and another of 930 (1524) of Nāsiru-d-dīn's time. Both of these have been printed in *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., pp. 305 and 306. The author says he saw them near the house of Manglū Khān, deceased, who was a descendant of Ibrahīm Adham of Balkh, and that the bones of a saint named Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn are there, enclosed in a small box. Formerly the shrine of the saint was opposite Manglū's house in a place where the river now is, but the men of the neighbourhood were warned by the saint in a dream to take up his bones and put them where they now are. The author gives both the inscriptions, but it is unnecessary to republish them. Under the head of the Karbala, the inscription from Khalf Khān's mosque, dated 935 (1528-29) is noticed. See *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., pp. 307 and 308. The stone is now on a tomb at the Dargāh of a saint called Lankapat (the Nankapat of the *Journal*). The Ḥusain Shāh inscription of 914 (1508) (*J. A. S. B.*, l. c., 305) is also given. He states that this inscription had belonged to a Jamā mosque built by Ḥusain Shāh. That mosque is now destroyed, but one Raḥīm Dalāl built, in 1277 (1860) a small mosque on the site of the old one, and placed the old inscription on it. The stone is on the right side of the door of the new mosque. He gives the village of Shāhmaṇḍī near Masjidbāṛī as the site of this mosque. He gives the inscription which is of the date 914 (1508), but it has already been published, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 305, No. 13.

At page 178 he describes the tomb of Dariyā Khān,[2] which has already been referred to, and on the next page he describes an inscription which he found lying in some heavy jungle near another tomb in the neighbourhood. He says that he read it quickly, but that the words were as follows :—

كتابه

بني هذا الباب الحصن الحصين في حماية السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين ابى المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني ابي الملتجي بفضل الهي المشهور بالعبد شاه و بالعبد البدر خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته - سنة ثلث و اربعين و تسعمائة -

Translation.

This strong gate was made with the help of the Sulṭān who is ruler of this world and the next, Abū-l-muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh son of Sayyad Ashrafu-l-ḥusainī, whose prayer is accept-

1 At Cak Bāḍ ?

2 He also gives a genealogical tree of Dariyā Khān's family.

able to God, and who is commonly known as 'Abd Shāh and 'Abdu-l-badr (May God preserve his throne). Date 943 A. H.

The inscription is of the time of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Abū-l-muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, and so far as I know has never been published before. The date is 943 (1536), and it will be seen from Blochmann's table, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 310, that no inscriptions of this king of later date than 941 have been published.

At page 180 the Gōlābāri inscription of 910 (1503-4) published, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 304, is given.

Under the head of Gōāmāltī,[1] page 183, a place about six miles south of English Bāzār, and which was the residence of Mr. Creighton, a very early inscription is referred to, which, I believe, has never been noticed before. It belongs to the year 711 (1311). Unfortunately, Ilāhī Bakhsh does not give a copy of the inscription. His words are—

"Near the (abandoned) indigo factory of Gōāmāltī, and to the east of it, there is a minār[2] in good order, and a ruined mosque. The mosque was built in the time of Sultan Bahādur Khān as the inscription shows, which is now lying at the factory.

Near the same mosque, at the east side there was a Khairāt Khānna (Poor-house) of which the remains still exist. North of the Factory at the distance of ten or twelve *rassies* (5 or 600 yards) on the west side of the high road there is a stone sarcophagus. Probably this belonged to some saint or king, and the English, who dig up tombs with large stones, may have thrown it here. There is nothing written. In that neighbourhood there are also many other remains of old buildings and marks of former populousness.

At Lakhīpur, on the west bank of the Paglā, there is a tomb of Sayyad Aḥmad of Māltīpūr, who was a great saint, and of whom many wonderful tales are told. His wife is buried beside him, and near at hand is the tomb of his barber.

Khāspūr, otherwise Tāṇḍā, was a town in old times. In 972 (1564) Sulaimān Kararāni abandoned Gauṛ on account of its climate, and

[1] The only Gōāmālti inscription hitherto known appears to be one of 894, (1489), and belonging to the reign of Fīrōz Shāh II. It was discovered by Mr. Westmacott, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 299. It is just possible that the inscription to which Ilāhī Bakhsh refers is that upon bricks now in the Indian Museum, described by Cunningham, l. c., 72. Bahādur Shāh was called Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn as well as was the son of Sikandar. But Ilāhī Bakhsh speaks of the inscription as being on a stone.

[2] I suppose that this is the minaret mentioned by Francklin, and the "pinnacle" of Mr. Westmacott's description. Bahādur Khān, or Shāh, reigned for 38 years, according to the Riyāẓ, p. 90. According to Mr. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.* XLIII, pp. 288–290, he reigned from 1311 (711), if not earlier, till about 731 (1331), and was called Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn.

made Tāṇḍā the seat of government. It quickly became full of buildings, but in 983 (1575) Man'am Khān Khānān went back to Gauṛ on account of the mosques, &c., there. About 1242 (1826) the place was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now-a-days it lies as a heap of dust about a mile from Lakhīpūr. Tāṇḍā used to be famous for Khajakhas (ladles ?)."

The City of Gauṛ.

The introduction to the account of the antiquities of Gauṛ is mainly taken from the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, page 28, but there are some differences. I shall, therefore, allow the author to use his own words.

The city of Gauṛ is one of the oldest of cities, and was once the seat of government. Now it is in decay. It lies south of English Bāzār at a distance of twelve miles, on the east bank of the Bhāgīrathī. They say when Fīrōz Rai, the king of India was routed by Rūstam, he fled to the hills of Jhāṛ Khaṇḍ and died there. Rūstam, who was wearied out by his pursuit of Fīrōz, bestowed the sovereignty of India on a Hindu named Sūraj. Sūraj became a great monarch and ruled over the Deccan and Bengal, and he is the same as the Sūraj who planted Kanauj. After him, his son Bharāj became king, but in his time disturbances arose. At last a Brahman by name Gandār,[1] marched from the Sivāliks and became victorious. Then in the end of his reign one Singaldīp marched from Kōch Bihār and conquered the whole of Bengal and Bihār and founded the city of Gauṛ, about 1017 years before the Hijra era.[2] And as this was the name of the capital, so it became the name of the whole of Bengal. Then, after a lapse of years, in 450 A.H. (1058) Rajah Lakkhan Sēn or Lakman Sēn obtained the sovereignty of Bengal, and embellished Gauṛ, so that it became known by his name and was called Lakhnautī. But still this name had less currency. Then in 945 (1538) Humāyūn, the son of Bābar, came to Bengal and rejecting the name of Gauṛ on account of its semblance to the word for a grave, called the city Jannatābād. But this name too, did not last long. Then in 983 (1575), when 2000 years had elapsed since the founding of the city (1017 + 983), in the time of Man'am Khān Khānān, the Nāẓim of Bengal, in the reign of Akbar, such a terrible pestilence befel the city that thousands died daily. At last the living were wearied of burying the dead and flung them into the river, and such a stench arose that no one could remain in the city. In short, in the space of a year, the city became deserted, and full of jungle. Then in 1049 (1639) the river Ganges which from of old had flowed

1 The Riyaẓ calls him Kaidār.

2 About 395 B.C.

under the city diverged towards Rājmahāl, and the city which for 66 (1049—983) years had ceased to be a capital, now became altogether jungle and has remained deserted up till now.

دران جائي كه گل و گلشن ومنزل و مكان بود
بيابان و پلنگ و بوزنه و روباه مي بينم

"Where there were rose gardens and dwellings, now I see a wilderness and leopards, apes, and foxes."

Alas for the ancient city of Gauṛ, which was so great a city of India, and had lofty ramparts and had an area, it is said, of fourteen *kōs*, and had many great buildings, and was a seat of sovereignty, and the residence of powerful kings. But the revolutions of fate are for our warning. In the course of one year,[1] it fell from its state of populousness and all this rose-like land is now the abode of monkeys and tigers. Only a few buildings which were of stone and exceptionally strong still exist, while the others which were of brick and plaster have fallen down. Their materials too, have been used for the construction of Māldah, English Bāzār, Murshidābād, &c. The following is the list of the buildings, of which traces still exist.

The Qadam Rasūl.

This is a square one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort. Its length from east to west is 24 cubits, and its breadth is the same. The Bhāgīrathī flows to the west of it at a distance of thirty *rassies* (about 1,500 yards). This building was erected by Sulṭan Naṣrat Shāh, the son of Sulṭan Ḥusain Shāh in 937 (1530). There is a Tughrā inscription in three lines over the doorway.[2]

Inside the mosque,[3] under the dome there is a footprint of the holy apostle (may blessings be upon him), on a piece of stone. They say that this stone was formerly at Paṇḍuā in the Cillakhānā of Shāh Jalālū-d-dīn Tabrīzī, and that it was removed by Ḥusain Shāh. The stone must have been brought from Arabia by the saint, or by some other holy personage. There is an inscribed stone on the south[4] side of the enclosing wall of the mosque, which must have been brought

[1] Alluding to the pestilence of 1575, but the city was partially occupied again after that.

[2] The author gives the inscription, but it appears in Ravenshaw, p. 20, and in Cunningham.

[3] When I was at Gauṛ, I found that the stone had been stolen.

[4] Cunningham corrects Ravenshaw's "northern." He supposes, Archæological Report, XV, 61, that the inscription formerly belonged to the Tāntīpāra mosque. I regret that in my paper on Francklin, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, p. 89 this has been printed Cāntīpārā.

from another mosque built in 885 (1480). The inscription is as follows:—(It occurs in Ravenshaw, p. 22, and in *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 277, but is produced here because the author was apparently able to read some words which Blochmann found illegible).

كتابه

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصراً فى الجنة بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابى المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باربک شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان - بني هذا المسجد خان اعظم خاقان المعظم مرصاد خان اتابك رايت اعلى بتاريخ هژدهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثما نمائة -

Translation.

The prophet (may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him) has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for God, God builds for him 70 palaces in paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh Sulṭān, son of Bārbak Shāh Sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh by the illustrious Khān Mirṣād Khān on the 18th Ramaẓān 885 A. H.

Behind the dome of the Qadam Rasūl mosque, at the west side, there is a building of which the roof and some of the walls have fallen down. Inside are some masonry tombs in a ruined state. It is probable that these are the tombs of princes, or of high officers of Ḥusain Shāh and Naṣrat Shāh. West of the Qadam Rasūl there is a tank which is perhaps a remain of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn. Certainly it is known by the name of the Jalālī tank.[1]

The Tomb of Fatḥ Khān.

This is outside of the enclosure of the Qadam Rasūl inside of a building which has been much destroyed, and has no inscription. They say that when Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr, the king of Delhi, suspected Shāh Ni'matu-llāh of having instigated his pupil Sulṭān Shujā' to go to war, he deputed one of his soldiers, Dilēr Khān, a man who used to fight with a raging elephant, to cut off the saint's head, although in fact the latter had never advised Sulṭan Shujā' to go to war, but on the contrary had several times advised him against doing so. When Dilēr Khān with his two sons arrived in Gauṛ, one of the latter, whose name was Fatḥ Khān, spat blood two or three times, and then gave up the ghost. The sorrowing father buried the body and prostrated himself before the saint. The event was reported to Aurangzēb, who after that placed confidence in the saint.

[1] The Riyāẓ, p. 116, mentions the Jalālī tank as one of Jalālu-d-dīn's works.

Shāhu-llāh Ṣāḥib.

This saint was a contemporary of Nūr Quṭbu-d-dīn of Paṇḍuā. His shrine is opposite the Qadam Rasūl, on the south side.

The Cīkā Mosque.

This is 2 or 3 *rassies* south of the Qadam Rasūl and very old. The dome is large, and it is always inhabited by tigers. The common people call it the Cīkā Masjīd, and I heard from them that the place has been known from of old as the jail, and that it is also known by the name of the Cōrkhāna. Near it there was another very small building. Probably the so-called mosque was not one, but was an office, or women's apartments, for what necessity was there for having small and big mosques close together? But as there is no inscription we cannot tell the real fact.

* * * * * *

Lukā Curi (?).

This is a large two-storied building in the middle of the enclosure of the fort, and south-east of the Qadam Rasūl. This building is a gateway and very handsome, and is ornamented as if it were the Royal Entrance. On each side there are places for guards, and above them was a Naqārkhāna (place for beating drums). Probably it was erected by Ḥusain Shāh or his son.[1]

The Bāīs Gazī (22 yards) Wall.

This is a lofty wall, west of the Qadam Rasūl and about 10 *rassies* off. The common people call it the Bāīs Gazī, and also the Ghōṛ Dauṛ (the Race-course). Those parts which are standing are about 44 cubits high.

The Khazāncī.

This is west by north from the Qadam Rasūl and about 20 *rassies* off. It is inside of the Bāīs Gazī Wall. There is a plot of ground (ṭabaqā) here which the people of Gauṛ called the Khazāncī (Treasurer). In the middle of this plot there is a large tank,[2] and west of this tank there is a large terrace which bears marks of having been dug up. Probably it was the king's treasury. It is also known as the king's harem (Maḥal Sarāī).

1 This is the "Eastern Gate" of Ravenshaw, p. 26, and which Mr. King calls the Lakkha Chhippi Gate. Perhaps the word is the Hindi Lauka, meaning brilliant, or illuminated.

2 Locally known as the Ṭaksāl Dighī, or Mint-tank.

THE GUMBĀZ GHŪSAL GĀH (THE DOME OF THE BATH).

It is a small square building with a lofty dome. It is on the west side of the tomb. It probably was a women's bath.

BANGLĀKŌṬ.

It is about 5 *rassies* from the Treasury and north-east of it, and about 15 *rassies* north-west from the Qadam Rasūl. The people of Mahīu-d-dīnpūr *alias* Maḥdīpūr call it Banglākoṭ. There is a tank there under the fort, and I saw fallen pillars and signs of stones having been dug up, &c. South-east of it there is a large tamarind tree, and about eight cubits from it, on the south, there are two masonry graves which have been excavated. From old people of Maḥdīpūr and from the Khādim of Qadam Rasūl, I heard that these were the graves of Ḥusain Shāh and his wife. They also said that the large sarcophagus which is lying near the village of Khaṛī, was inside of the tomb of Ḥusain Shāh, and had been lifted and thrown where it now is. About eight cubits south of the tombs there was a square enclosure, the walls of which were of variously coloured bricks. Inside of the enclosure, which was about 16 cubits square, there were several masonry tombs composed of coloured bricks, and about two spans in height. In my childhood I saw these tombs and the enclosure, and though somewhat decayed they were in a manner entire. In about 1263 (1846) these tombs and the enclosure were destroyed, and now hardly a trace of them is to be seen. This illustrious Banglākōṭ, with its trees and bamboos, &c., was from of old in the possession of the ancestors of Mīr Dōman, an inhabitant of Maḥdīpūr, who gave himself out to be a descendant of Ḥusain Shāh. He (shame on him) and his sons dug up the inscribed stones, and the coloured bricks and sold them, and thereby displayed their baseness.

به است دختر نیکو ز بد اطوار پسر

"A good daughter is better than a bad son."

In 1281 (1863) I saw in the possession of Mīr Hānsā, the grandson of Mīr Dōman, a paper signed by the Nawab Mu'ẓam Khān, dated 1070 (1659) whereby 50 bighās rent-free in the village of Banglākōṭ were by order of Aurangzēb granted to Sayyad Āmbiā, the grandson of Sayyad Sulṭān, for the purpose of lighting the tombs of the kings of Gauṛ. And the lands are still in the possession of the family under this grant. Mīr Hānsā also pointed out a place north of Ḥusain Shāh's tomb and said that in Banglākōṭ, in that place, there were more than a hundred tombs of kings and their relations, but which were now in disrepair. Only here and there were holes marking where the graves had been.

The Mīnār.

In the neighbourhood it is also known by the name of the Tīr Āsa Mandīr,[1] it is north north-east of the Qadam Rasūl and at a distance of about 25 *rassies*, and opposite Banglākōṭ, and outside of the fort. It was built by Sulṭān Fīrōz Shāh, the Abyssinian. The inscription and the lower stones have been dug up and stolen. The height of the Minār is about 50 cubits and its circumference about 54 cubits. On the east there is a tank which probably was also made by Fīrōz Shāh, who was reigning in 893 (1487).

The Gate of the Fort, or the Dākhil Gate.

This is a large gateway north by west of the Qadam Rasūl, and about a mile away. It appears from the Riyāẓ that this lofty gateway was made by Ḥusain Shāh. Near it, on the north, is a tank and from the latter an *ābgīr* (aqueduct) comes out on the east side and goes south a long way, and above it there are battlements. And from this gate on the west side, at a distance of about twenty *rassies*, near the Bhāgīrathī on the roadside, there is a large sarcophagus of black basalt, which is twisted to the west, and is in three fragments. There is no inscription. Some say that it is the tomb of Ḥusain Shāh, and the Khādim of the Qadam Rasūl said that the tomb of Ḥusain Shāh had been brought here from Banglākōṭ. South of it I saw another sarcophagus of hard stone.

The Kōṭwālī Gate.

Also called the Salāmī Gate. It is near Maḥiu-d-dīnpūr or Maḥdīpūr, to the east, or the high road. To the south of it, at a distance of about twenty *rassies* is Balwa Dighī[2] (tank). There are battlements, east and west of the gateway, and on each side there are apertures for firearms. North of this gateway, at a distance of about half-a-mile, close to the old bridge, on the east side of the road, I saw a large stone with an inscription in unknown (ḥarf khafī) characters. Although it could not be clearly made out, so much I read that Sulṭān Maḥmud in 862 A.H. (1457) had built the gate of the fort.

(This is the inscription which Cunningham says he found, p. 57, and which Blochmann has translated, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIV, 289. It refers to the building of the bridge. Francklin speaks of two pillars with Sanskrit inscriptions in this neighbourhood).

[1] Such is the reading in the MS., but probably Tīr is a clerical error for Pīr. I was told on the spot that the name of the column was Pīr 'Aṣā Minār. 'Aṣā means a staff in Arabic and Persian, and perhaps is used here as equivalent to the Lāṭh of Fīrōz Shah of Delhi.

[2] The Ballo Digbi of Ravenshaw, p. 36.

The Gūnmat Mosque.

This is about a mile north by west of the Kōṭwālī Gate, and near Maḥdīpūr, on the east side, and in thick jungle. Its length from north to south is 72 cubits, and its breadth 36 cubits. It had seven domes, all of which have fallen down.

The Mosque of Rājbībī.

It is south-east of the Kōṭwālī Gate, east of the high road, between two tanks, one of which is called Baliyā (?) Dighī, and the other Kahaniā Dighī. It is a small mosque; the people of Gauṛ call it Rājbībī's mosque. It is 37 cubits long from east to west, and 29 cubits broad. There is a large dome, and on the east side three small ones.

The Mosque of Dīn Cak.

It has three domes. Near this mosque, on the north side, I saw a very small ruined building. Perhaps it was the tomb of the builder of the mosque and of his family.

The Pīṭhāwālī's Mosque.

This was near the Kōṭwālī Gate, and north by west of it. It was a small mosque, and people called it the mosque of the Pīṭhāwālī (the mosque of the flour-grinding woman). In about 1278 (1861), it was dug up, and now no trace of it is left.

The Begh Muḥammad Mosque.

About thirty *rassies* north of the Gūnmat Mosque, there was a small mosque of this name, and in front of it was a terrace of coloured bricks. Now the dome, &c,. have fallen down. Opposite the mosque are the tombs of Begh Muḥammad and others.

The Daras Mosque.

Between Maḥdīpūr and Fīrōzpūr there is a piece of ground which the people call Darasbāṛī (the Lecture Room). In that place I saw a large mosque built of brick, with stone pillars. Its length from north to south was 65 cubits, and its breadth 38 cubits. From north to south there were seven rows, and from east to west 4—altogether 28 cupolas. Out of these, some towards the north were broken.

When in 1293 (1876) the jungle about this mosque was cleared in the presence of the author, a large inscription was found under a heap of rubbish. Its wording was as follows:—

كتابه

قال الله تعالى و انّ المساجد لله فلا تدعو مع الله احداً و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله له قصراً فى الجنة مثله قد بني هذا المسجد

الجامع السلطان الاعدل الاعظم مالك الرقاب و الامم السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باربک شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه خلدالله ملكه و سلطنته و افاض على العالمين احسانه و بره في سنة هجرة اربع و ثمانين و ثما نمائة .

Translation.

God has said, He is proprietor of all mosques, so do not mention any name with God's name. And the prophet has said, whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build for him similarly a palace in paradise. This mosque was built by the righteous and great King, who is Sun of this world and the next, Abū-l-muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh, son of Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh (May God preserve his throne, and may his generosity reach the whole world). Date 884 A.H.

(The inscription is referred to at page 76 of Cunningham's Archæological Report, Vol. XV., and a plate of it is given. But I am not aware if a reading and translation have been published).

The Kumbhīr Pīr, or Alligator Saint.

North-east of the Qadam Rasūl, there is a large masonry tomb, and near it there are other tombs. Some of these have so decayed that the bones of the dead may be seen inside of them. Here there is a large tank, the water of which is very clear, and which is inhabited by alligators.[1] From of old some people of the neighbourhood have believed that these alligators are the equipage of the saint, and some even hold that a large alligator there is the Pīr Ṣāḥib himself. When a goat or a cock is presented as an offering, the *Khādim* rolls up the bones and skin into a mess, which they call a piṇḍā, and flings it into the tank, at the same time crying out 'Bābū Shāh Khiẓr, take the piṇḍā.' Thereupon a large alligator comes up from under the water to the bank, takes the mess and goes back again. Sometimes, though often called, he does not come, or if he comes, does not take the piṇḍā, even though intreated, and then the donor suspects that it is from some fault of his that the offering is not received. * * * * * * * * * I asked the Khādim, what was the name of the Pīr, and he said 'Bābū Shāh Khiẓr (Elias)'.

The Tāntīpārā Mosque. The author gives the dimensions of this mosque, &c., and says that the people of Gauṛ state that it was built by one 'Umar Qāẓī, and that of two graves there, one is his, and the other his brother Zū-l-Qarān's. Then after noticing the Chamkaṭī Mosque, he notices a place which is called the residence of Dhanpat Saudāgar, or Cānd Saudāgar. The Laṭṭōnkī Masjid is also noticed, and the tradition mentioned that it was built by a dancing Girl.

[1] See Ravenshaw, p. 13.

The Ghaṛī Khāna or Gong-house is mentioned. This was inside the Fort enclosures, and south of the Dākhil Darwāza. The gong was removed to the cutcherries at English Bāzār, and was broken in 1272 (1855). The author heard it struck from a distance of six miles, *viz.*, from the high bank of the Sāgar Dighī.

At page 204 we have a biography of Sayyad Shāh Ni'matu-llāh. He was a native of Karnaul, in the province of Delhi, and was a great traveller. In the course of his wanderings he came to Rājmahāl, where he was much honoured by Sulṭān Shujā'. At last he settled in the Fīrōzpūr quarter of Gauṛ where he died, according to one account, in 1075 (1664), and according to another, in 1080 (1669). At his shrine there is an inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, dated 918 (1512). This is the inscription quoted in Ravenshaw, p. 88, Cunningham, p. 52, and *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 295. We now know where it is to be found. In the same compound there is another inscription, the date of which is given by the author as 10th Zū-l-ḥijja 870 (1465), but which is given in Ravenshaw as 1st Zū-l-ḥijja 970 (22nd July 1563). It records the building of a gateway by Khān Jahān. The inscription as given by Ilāhī Bakhsh is as follows:—

كتابه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن با لله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين - و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً فى الجنة مثله - عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادات - ارحم المسلمين و المسلمات معاى كلمات الحق و الحسنات المؤيد بتائيد الدين المجاهد في سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين علاء الدنيا و الدين ابى المظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسني خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته - بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصاً مخلصاً متوكلاً على الله ابو محمد بن ابى على المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجاس منصور نصره الله تعالى فى الدنيا و الآخرة و تاريخه الميمون فى الرابع عشر من شهر رجب المبارك رجب الله قدره و شانه - سنة (چون گوشهٔ چارمین کتابهٔ هذا که در انجا سنه و تاریخ بود ترقیده فرو ریخته است لهذا تاریخ تعمیر معلوم نشد) -

God has said, no one builds a mosque for God except he who has faith in God and in the day of resurrection, and who says his prayer and gives alms, and who fears not any one except God; so that these are righteous people. And the Prophet has said, whoever builds a mosque for the sake of God

God builds similarly a palace for him in paradise. This mosque was built in the time of the pious and generous King Abū-l-muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh. The mosque was built by Abū Muḥammad son of Abā 'Alī, styled Majlisu-l-majālis (May God make him prosper both in this world and the next). The date of building is 14th Rajjab year—(The year is not given, as the portion of the inscription stone which contained the date is broken.)

"The word of God is that mosques belong to God. The builder of this gateway was Khān Jahān, 10th Zū-l-ḥijja 870."

There was a Khān Jahān in Akbar's time, but 970 (1563) seems too early for his being in Gauṛ, nor does one see why he should build a mosque or a gate there.[1] See Blochmann's Aīn, No. 24, p. 330. Perhaps the 870 of Ilāhī Bakhsh is right. We find the title Khwājah Jahān in an inscription of 863. See Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLI, p. 108.

The Jāmi' Masjid, *i.e.*, the Small Golden Mosque of Ravenshaw, is described, and we are told that it is also called the Khwājah's mosque, and that the tradition is that it was built by a eunuch. The author gives the inscription, and notices that the corner which contained the year has been broken away. See Cunningham, l. c., 75. He also notices two stone tombs opposite the mosque which may be those of the builder of the mosque and some relative, but which the country people say are fictitious (naql) tombs. He gives the inscriptions on the tombs, but they appear to be only extracts from the Qurān. See Cunningham, l. c., 76.

The tomb of a merchant named Aṣālat Khān Haft Qalmī is noticed. It is said that he lived in the time of Sultan Shujā' and Nawab Jāfar Khān, and that he could write in seven different characters.

The Golden Mosque of Naṣrat Shāh is noticed. The inscription is now gone, but its date was 932 (1526).

In noticing the place called Rāmkhēl, the author says that he has given an account of Sonāton in his Taẕkirah (autobiography ?).

The account of Gauṛ closes at page 211 with a plan of the ruins.

At page 214 we have an account of Makhdūm Shaikh Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn.[2] We are told that he was the first Hindūstānī who was nominated as a saint by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā of Delhi. He came to Gauṛ as his mother lived there, but he was originally from Oude. Mr. Blochmann says he died in 758 or 1357,[3] but according to Ilāhī Bakhsh he died on 1st Shawwāl 743 (1342). The chronogram of his death is—

زود گو کان روز عید الفطر بود

1 The inscription is in the Taghrā character. I am not aware if this was used in Akbar's time.

2 Cunningham says l. c., p. 72, that this saint is best known by the name of Purāṇā Pīr, or the 'old saint,' but the title given to him by Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 219, is Pīranpīr (equal to Pīr-Pīrānan) or saint of saints, in allusion to the fact that Alāu-l-ḥaqq and others were taught by him. Ferishta gives him the title of Parwāna (Inspector ?).

3 *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 260.

"Say quickly, 'Twas 'Idu-l-fiṭr day."[1]

The letters of the four last words give 743.

According to Ferishta, Bombay, ed. II, 737, four lines from top and 743, 5 lines from bottom, Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn was the grandfather[2] of Nūr Quṭb, but perhaps he was only the spiritual father. Ferishta tells us that he came to Delhi young and ignorant, and that Fakhru-d-dīn Irādī (perhaps Zarādī), took him in hand and instructed him.

According to Ilāhī Bakhsh, the saint did not leave Delhi till three years after Niẓāmu-d-dīn's death, and consequently in 728 (1327).

The two inscriptions of 916 referred to by Cunningham, l. c. 71, are noticed by Ilāhī Bakhsh.

At page 217 the Jāmi' Masjid is described. This is the Jan Jan Mīyān Mosque of Ravenshaw, 10. The author reads the inscription differently from Blochmann.[3] His interpretation says nothing about the builder being a lady.

كذابه

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة مثله - بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين ابى المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته و ادام الله معاليها في سنة احدى و اربعين و (some words illegible left out.) تسعمائة - (۹۴۱) -

Translation.

The prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) has said, whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build for him similarly a palace in paradise. This mosque was built in the time of the King Abū-l-muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh son of Ḥusain Shāh (may God always preserve his rank) in 941 A.H.

At page 222 we have a notice of Bahrāl where Nawab Sirāju-d-dīn daula was arrested through the instrumentality of Dān Shāh, a faqīr. Dān Shāh's resting place or *takiya*, is there, and his tomb is a mile away, on the river bank.

Gangā Rāmpūr. This lies north-west from English Bāzār at a distance of eight miles. It was a city in old times, and there are still traces of buildings there. Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī had his *Takiya* there. The people there narrate to the effect that Rajah Lakṣmaṇa Sēna, the last Hindu King of Bengal, had his capital here. (This appears to be the Gangārāmpūr mentioned by Cunningham, Archæological Reports, Vol.

[1] This is an ingenious chronogram for it gives the day and month as well as the year of death, the 'Idu-l-fiṭr occurring on 1st Shawwāl immediately after the Ramẓān.

[2] At page 85, l. c., Cunningham incorrectly quotes Blochmann as saying that 'Alāu-d-dīn was the son of Shaikh Ākhī. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 261.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, XLI, 339.

XV, 45, and described as a small village south of Māldah. General Cunningham found there an inscription dated 647 (1249).

The rest of the volume from pages 226 to 495 is occupied with a history of Bengal, but I do not think that it contains anything new or valuable. It seems to be in great measure compiled from the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, the Siyaru-l-mutakhkharīn, and Marshman's History of India. The only things I noticed in it was a reference at page 246 to rupis of Taghral Shāh being occasionally picked up in Gauṛ, an account and representation at pages 285, and 286 of Sikkās of Maḥmūd Shāh which the author had seen, and which bore the date 944 (1537), and a copy at page 327, of Sultan Shujā''s seal.

Conclusion.

I have now finished my analysis of the Bengal portion of the Khurshīd Jahān Numā. It will be seen that, so far as publication is concerned, Ilāhī Bakhsh has been anticipated with regard to most of the inscriptions. Apparently the only entirely new inscriptions are five in number, *viz.*, one of 913 at page 133 of MS., one of 1170 (qr. 1059) at page 153, one of 1000 at page 158, one of 943 at page 179, and one of 711 at page 183. At page 206 we have an inscription which is not new, but of which the date is given as 870 instead of 970, as in Ravenshaw.

The dates of the saints' deaths, &c., *viz.*, 738 for Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī, 786 for 'Alāu-l-ḥaqq, and 818 for Nūru-l-ḥaqq are new, and so are the chronograms which express them. Much of the information too about the saints and their shrines is new. At page 246 we have a reference to coins of Taghral Shāh, and at page 286 we have a description of a coin of Muḥammād Shāh, dated 944, which seems to be new.

On the whole, I think, we must say that Ilāhī Bakhsh has done well, and that he deserves to be held in remembrance along with Ghulām Ḥusain, Creighton, Francklin, Ravenshaw and Blochmann.

APPENDIX A.

Note on the Site of Ekdālā.

In *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 244, there is a note by Mr. Westmacott, accompanied by a map, in which he endeavours to show that the Ekdālā of Bengal history was a place of that name in Dinajpur. But Mr. Westmacott did not actually see the spot, and after weighing the evidence it seems to me that there can be no reasonable doubt that the Ekdālā of history is the well-known place of that name in the district of Dacca. This Ekdālā is marked in Rennell's map, No. 6, of the Low Countries beyond the Ganges, under the name of Ekdālā, as lying about 25 miles north-north-east of Dacca, on the west side of the Bānar, near its confluence with the Lakṣmiā. The situation of this Ekdālā corre-

sponds with the accounts of the historians, for it has a river on one side and the Bhawal jungles on the other. Apparently the old fort stood at a place now called Dūrdūriā, eight miles above the modern village of Ekdālā, for it is mentioned in the Statistical Account of Bengal, V, 73, that there are the remains of a strong fort there. The fullest account of the place is to be found in the valuable book of Dr. Taylor on the Topography of Dacca, now unfortunately out of print. He shows both Ekdālā and Dūrdūriā on his map, and at pages 112–15, we have a detailed account of the place and of the traditions connected with it. He tells us that Dūrdūriā is on the opposite side of the river from Ekdālā, and that there are the remains of a fort there, and opposite to it (*i.e.*, on the Ekdālā, or west side), there are the foundations of a town said to have been built by the Buneā Rajahs. They are also said to have built the fort. He gives a description of the works, and notices the remains of a mosque known by the name of Shaikh 'Alā's, and which was probably erected by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn (*i.e.*, Ḥusain Shāh). The fort is known by the name of Rānī Bāri, and is said to have belonged to Rānī Bhabānī. Dr. Taylor adds, "From the depth of the river, and of the moats that surrounded it, this fort must have been a place of considerable strength, and in all probability it was the one in which Ilyās Shamsu-d-dīn, the Second (? the Third), independent king of Bengal, was besieged by the Emperor Fīrōz in 1353." He then tells the story of Ilyās Shāh's coming out of the fort to attend the funeral of Rajah Biyabānī, and suggests that this saint was a descendant of Rānī Bhabānī. This seems a valuable suggestion. The title of Rajah is a curious one for a Muḥammadan saint, and in all probability points to the fact, that he was a converted Hindu. Biyabānī, means wild, or desert, in Persian, but it closely resembles the name of the Rānī, and it is likely that the two words are identical.

According to Ferishta, Bombay Ed. I, 262, and the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, p. 97, the river to which Fīrōz Shāh made his feigned retreat was the Ganges, but the Ganges is not near the Dinajpur Ekdālā, whereas in Dacca we have the river known as the Burīganga.

The description[1] by Ẓiyahu-d-dīn Baranī of the flooded nature of the country about Ekdālā, and his reference to the large mosquitoes, which it was thought by Ilyās and the Bengalis would prevent the Imperial Army from encamping, agree better with Dacca than Dinajpur. But I should think that the mere fact that Shams i 'Afīf, in his history of Fīrōz Shāh, p. 112, speaks of the islands of Ekdālā جزائر اکدالہ[2]

[1] Bib. Ind., Ed. 589.

[2] The proper spelling appears to be Akdālā. The first syllable reminds us of Akmaḥāl, the old name of Rājmaḥāl, and the two words may be connected. But the Ak of Akmaḥāl is written Āk.

is sufficient to show that the place was in Eastern Bengal. We know, too that the kings of Bengal, from the days of Lakṣmaṇa Sēna, used, like the Egyptians of old, to retreat to the marshes whenever they were in difficulty, and for this purpose they went to Eastern Bengal.

The question about the site of Ekdālā might be definitively settled by finding the tomb of Makhdūm Shaikh Rājā Biyābānī, for it was probably very near Ekdālā, seeing that Ḥājī Ilyās came out of the fort in disguise and attended the funeral, while he was besieged by Fīrōz Shāh. It is even said that he appeared before the Emperor, disguised as a faqīr, and saluted him, and returned, without being recognised. If, as Dr. Taylor suggests, the saint was connected with Rānī Bhabānī, his tomb may perhaps be found near the Dacca Ekdālā, or near Dūrdūriā, if it has not been washed away by the river. If he was a noted saint, it is curious that we hear nothing of his tomb being in Dinajpur or Māldah. Evidently Ilāhī Bakhsh did not know the site of this tomb, for he has left blanks in his MS. for the direction and distance. It would also be of importance to find out if there is any place in Dacca or Dinajpur known as Azādpur, which is said [1] to have been the name substituted by Fīrōz Shāh for Ekdālā. Mr. Westmacott could not hear of this name in Dinajpur,[2] nor have I met with it in the list of parganas in Dacca, though there is a place there called A'ẓampur.[3]

The only objection to the Dacca Ekdālā is that Ẓiyahu-d-dīn Barānī, Bib. Ind., Ed. p. 588, speaks of Ekdālā as being near Paṇḍuā. But he wrote in his old age, at Delhi, and apparently he had never visited Bengal and had no local knowledge. The vague expression "near Paṇḍuā" is hardly appropriate to the Dinajpur village, for that is about twenty-three miles away. Ḥusain Shāh is said to have every year gone on foot from Ekdālā to Paṇḍuā, to visit the shrine of Nūr Quṭb. This is quite consistent with his residence having been the Dacca Ekdālā, for Ḥusain Shāh was a good deal in Eastern Bengal. He built a mosque at Sōnārgāõ, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 295, and Dr. Taylor tells us, l. c. 115, that there are the remains of a mosque at Dūrdūriā which goes by his name.

[1] Shams Sirāj 'Afīf's Tārīkh Fīrōz-Shāhī, Bib. Ind., Ed., p. 122.

[2] The Dinajpur Ekdālā is in pargana Dhanjar. The Dacca Ekdālā is in Kapasiā, but I do not know the pargana.

[3] See Grant's Analysis, Fifth Report, 368.

APPENDIX B.

Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī.

According to Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 260 and 281, Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī died in 642 A.H. or 1244. He does not give his authority for this statement, and I have not been able to find in the Persian lives of saints any mention of the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death.[1] Indeed, it seems that the exact date must be unknown, for Jalālu-d-dīn apparently died in the Maldive Islands—far away from his friends and countrymen. It has been seen that according to the guardians of the shrine, Jalālu-d-dīn was in Paṇḍuā till 738 or 1337, and that according to some, he did not die there, but went off to some other place. It would be singular if tradition gave him a later date than the real one, for ordinarily it exaggerates the antiquity of a saint or other great man. It is also clear from Ibn Batutah that a Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī was living in Assam or Sylhet, in the reign of Fakhru-d-dīn or between 739 and 750. I am indebted for this important reference to Mr. Blochmann, who in his turn got it from my dear friend Dr. Wise, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 281.[2] The reference there is to Lee's translation of the fragment of Ibn Batutah, and I have since then consulted the French translation by Defrènery and Sanguinetti. Ibn Batutah's account of his interview

[1] I have since found the date 642 in the Khazīnatu-l-aṣfiyā of Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore, I. 283 of Newal Kishor ed. Perhaps this was the source of Mr. Blochmann's statement. But Ghulām Sarwar is quite a modern author, as the chronogram of his book's title shows (1254 or 1839), and he gives no authority for his statement. He is the same man who gives the wrong date for Nūr Quṭb's death, and evidently he does not know much about Jalālu-d-dīn, for he makes no reference to his visit to the Maldives. The Siyaru-l-arifīn was written in the time of Humāyūn, and is apparently the source of Abū-l-faẓl's short notice in the *Āīn* (Jarrett's translation III. 366). The Siyaru-l-arifīn is an account of thirteen saints of the Chisti order and, as Dr. Rieu observes in his Catalogue, the notices are arranged in chronological order. Jalālu-d-dīn is tenth on the list and after Bahāu-d-dīn and others. The writer evidently did not know the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death for he does not give it, and only says that he left Bengal and went to the port of Dēo Mahāl, (*i.e.*, the Maldives). Abū-l-faẓl makes a similar statement and gives no date of death.

[2] It is difficult to say if Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī is the same as Shāh Jalāl of Sylhet. The location of the latter might agree with Ibn Batutah, and it is singular that both accounts should mention a Burhānu-d-dīn. But the dates seem all confused. If 591 A.H. had been Shāh Jalāl's birth-day instead of the day of his death, he might have been Ibn Batutah's Jalālu-d-dīn, who lived for 150 years. In one place Ibn Batutah calls Jalālu-d-dīnu-sh-Shīrāzī, IV., 287, of French translation. This is probably a clerical error, or a slip of Ibn Batutah's. Ibn Batutah's book is unfortunately confused, and wanting in precision. He did not write it himself, but dictated it in after life to an African friend.

with Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī begins at page 215 of Volume IV. of the first edition of the French translation. He there tells us that after arriving at Sadkāwān, he set off for the mountains of Kāmrū, in order to see a holy person who dwelt there, *viz.*, Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīnu-t-Tabrīzī. He then describes how he found him and stayed at his hermitage for three days. He tells some wonderful stories about the Shaikh's prescience, and fasting powers, but omits to tell us what we should like to know, *viz.*, where he first heard about Jalālu-d-dīn, or the exact place where he found him. He mixes up his narrative of what he saw with what he afterwards heard from Jalālu-d-dīn's disciples, and omits to tell when and where he received these communications.

It is true that Ilāhī Bakhsh's account of Jalālu-d-dīn seems inconsistent with his having been alive in the 8th century of the Hijra, for he tells us that Jalālu-d-dīn came to Delhi in the time of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, and was a contemporary of Bahāu-d-dīn Zakariyā. Now Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, who is the person meant, died in 633 according to Abū-l-faẓl, and in 634 according to Ferishta, and Bahāu-d-dīn died either in 665 or 666. Ferishta's references to Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī also imply that he flourished in the first half of the 7th century of the Hijra, for he describes [1] him as the friend of Bahāu-d-dīn, and as obtaining leave from Shihābu-d-dīn, Suhrawardī, to accompany Bahāu-d-dīn from Bagdad to India. However, he stopped on the way at Khwārazan, while Bahāu-d-dīn went on to Multan. He also mentions, l. c. p. 718, four lines from bottom that Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī came to Bagdad *for the second time* from Kharāsan, while Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn was there, and gave him news of Ma'ūnu-d-dīn Cishti. The two then went together to Multan, and eventually Quṭbu-d-dīn proceeded to Delhi whilst Jalālu-d-dīn went off to Ghaẓnī. This must have been subsequent to the time when Jalālu-d-dīn set out with Bahāu-d-dīn from Bagdad, for when he and Quṭbu-d-dīn came to Multan, they found Bahāu-d-dīn established there. It may be noted that Ferishta does not say that Jalālu-d-dīn was at Delhi with Quṭbu-d-dīn. Ferishta also says l. c., p. 742, six lines from foot, that Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā read, when he was twelve years old, with one Maulānā 'Alāu-d-dīn who had received his investiture from Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī, and that in after life he again fell in with this Maulānā and greatly honoured him. The Shaikhu-l-islām Nijāmu-d-dīn Saghrī, too, who according to Abū-l-faẓl and Ilāhī Bakhsh, had a quarrel with Jalālu-d-dīn was, according to Ferishta[2], a contemporary of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, and was on bad terms

[1] Bombay, Ed. by General Briggs, II., 760, nine lines from foot.
[2] L. C. 760.

with him. On the other hand, Mr. Blochmann's date of 642 seems too early, as Shihābu-d-dīn, Suhrawardī, the aged preceptor of Jalālu-d-dīn, lived till 632. It is noteworthy that neither Ferishta nor Abū-l-faẓl gives the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death, and that the latter puts him in his list not only after Bahāu-d-dīn, but after his son and grandson, and also after Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, who died in 725 A.H.[1] Abū-l-faẓl's list[2] appears to be in chronological order, so far as the saints of the Suhrawardī order are concerned, beginning with Bahāu-d-dīn Zakariyā. Of course all difficulties are removed, if we accept Ibn Batutah's statement that Jalālu-d-dīn lived to the age of 150. There can be no doubt, I think, that the Jalālu-d-dīn whom he saw was the Paṇḍuā Jalālu-d-dīn. He told Ibn Batutah that he was in Bagdad when the last of the Abbasides Al Musta'ṣim Billah was killed, and this occurred on 20th February 1258 or 14th Ṣafar 656.[3] He must therefore have been at least between 80 and 90 when Ibn Batutah saw him. He describes him as being then very old, but he does not tell us when or where he died. He only says that *afterwards* his disciples told him that he had died at the age of 150. He also says that long after his interview with Jalālu-d-dīn, Barhānu-d-dīn told him in China that the saint was dead. The fullest account of Jalālu-d-dīn that I have seen is in the Siyaru-l-arifīn of Ḥamīd Bin Faẓlu-llāh, commonly known as Darvish Jamālī, Brit. Mus., Catalogue, Or., I. 215, p. 354*a*. But he too, does not give the date of his death.[4] On the whole I am inclined to think that the date 642 A.H. is wrong. It is possible that Jalālu-d-dīn has been confounded with another saint of Tabrīz named Shams-i-Tabrīz, who according to one account died in 645, and according to another, in 643. Curiously enough, Shams-i-Tabrīz had a pupil—the famous Sufī poet, named Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī—and he took Shams-i-Tabrīz's name as his takhallus or *nom de plume*. Dr. Rieu mentions in his catalogue that Shamsu-d-dīn Tabrīz was the constant companion of Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī from 642 to his death in 645. Jalālu-d-dīn himself died in Iconium in 672 A.H. See the Majālisu-l-'ushshāq, Brit.

1 Āīn Akbarī Text, II., 216.

2 Abū-l-faẓl seems to have consulted the Riyāẓu-l-auliyā of Bakhtāvar Khān, who wrote in the time of Humāyūn. Bakhtāvar's list is also in chronological order.

3 The date is given in Gibbon, &c.

4 He calls him Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn Abū-l-qāsim Tabrīzī, and devotes ten pages to him. The account begins at 183*b* of Or. 215. Brit. Mus. Catalogue, p. 354*a*. It is curious that the converted Hindu milk-man of Badāon took the name of 'Alī and wanted to go with Jalālu-d-dīn into Bengal. But I do not suppose he is the man who afterwards became 'Alī Shāh and indeed we are told that the milk-man remained at Badāon and became a great saint there.

Mus. Catalogue, I., 352. Shams is No. 25, in the biographies in the Majālis and the accounnt begins at p. 82*b*.

The story of how 'Alī Mubārak came to erect the shrine of Jalālu-d-dīn is told in the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn, pp. 94 and 95, and also in Ilāhī Bakhsh, pp. 253 to 255. It has been translated by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, pp. 252 and 253. The substance of Ghulām Ḥusain's account is as follows :—

'Alī Mubārak, the second of the independent kings of Bengal, was originally a servant of Malik Fīrōz, the nephew of the Emperor Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Taghlaq Shāh, and consequently the cousin of Juna Khān Muḥammad Shāh. When the latter became Emperor (725) he made Malīk Fīrōz his Lieutenant-Governor. Hājī Ilyās, the foster brother of 'Alī Mubārak, was "wanted" for some fault which he had committed, and 'Alī Mubārak was called upon to produce him. 'Alī Mubārak could not do so, and reported that he had absconded. Malik Fīrōz blamed him for the disappearance and bade him leave Delhi. 'Alī Mubārak went off towards Bengal, and on the way had an interview with Ḥazrat Jalālu-d-dīn and implored his assistance. The saint was pleased and said, "We have given you the province of Bengal, but build a shrine for us." 'Alī Mubārak agreed, but asked where he should build it. The saint replied, "In the city of Paṇḍuā, in a place where you will find three bricks, one over the other,[1] and under them a fresh hundred-leaved rose."[2] When he came to Bengal 'Alī Mubārak entered the service of Qadr Khān, and eventually became his General. Fakhru-d-dīn revolted against Qadr Khān and killed him, but 'Alī Mubārak thereupon assumed the title of Sultan and marching against Fakhru-d-dīn, defeated him and put him to death in requital of his having slain his benefactor. 'Alī Mubārak now struck coins, &c., under the style of 'Alāu-d-dīn, and in the intoxication of prosperity forgot his promise to the saint. The saint now appeared to him in a dream and said "'Alāu-d-dīn, you have become Sultan of Bengal, but you have forgotten my order." Next day search was made and the bricks, &c., were found just as the saint had said. So the shrine was erected there in the very place where its traces now remain.

In the Riyāẓ, the first interview with the saint is said to have taken place بعالم رویا and certainly this means in a vision or dream. But if, as the Paṇḍuā story is, Jalālu-d-dīn lived there till 738, the necessity for a miraculous vision does not appear. It seems to me that

[1] Probably what is meant is that the three bricks were set on end and leaning against one another.

[2] Though *Gul ṣadbarak* means hundred-leaved rose, Dr. King tells me it is the Bussorah or Damascene rose, and not the rose *Rosa centifolia* of Linnæus.

perhaps the words *'alm rōya* may merely mean that 'Alī Mubārak had an interview with the saint, or Ghūlām Ḥusain may have made a mistake, or used an incorrect expression, for the Bibliotheca Indica text shows that there is a grammatical error in the passage. The subsequent vision is intelligible, for by that time (741), the saint had left Paṇḍuā. Mr. Blochmann translates here "one night Jalālu-d-dīn *again* appeared to him," but the word *again* is not in the original. If we suppose that there was an actual interview, and that the Shaikhu-l-islām, who turned Jalālu-d-dīn out of Delhi was Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, the whole story might hang very well together.[1] For it was in the first year of his reign that Muḥammad Shāh appointed Malik Fīrōz as his Naib, and this was just after Niẓāmu-d-dīn's death, *viz.*, 725.

Mr. Blochmann has represented the Riyāẓ as saying that 'Alī Mubārak killed his benefactor Qadr Khān and then killed Fakhru-d-dīn in revenge for this. But whatever the sentence may mean grammatically, I think that Ghūlām Ḥusain meant to say that it was Fakhru-d-dīn, who killed Qadr Khān, and this is how Ilāhī Bakhsh has understood the passage.

The statement in Abū-l-faẓl that Jalālu-d-dīn's tomb was in the port of Dev Maḥāl puzzled me for a good while. Then I found in Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, p. 46, a statement that according to some people, the saint died on one of the Maldives. And I also found Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 260, referring to the passage and saying that Bandar Dīn Mahall was either the Maldives or Dīu in Gujarat. Ilāhī Bakhsh's statement that Dev Mehal is in Bengal is evidently merely a guess, and there can be no doubt that the Maldives are the place meant, Dev Mehal being merely a corruption of Mahaldīv, or Mahaldīb, which is the native name for the islands. The Maldives lie south south-west of India and not far from Cape Comorin.

Though we do not find that the name of Jalālu-d-dīn is known there, yet we find that the name of his country is known, and that the natives ascribe their conversion to a saint who came from Tabrīz in Persia. This seems strong confirmation of the story that Jalālu-d-dīn's tomb is in the Maldives.

The following extract from Messrs. Young and Christopher's account of the Maldive islands will be found interesting. I give it the more readily because the early volumes of the transactions of the

[1] But of course this is opposed to the authorities, and if Jalālu-d-dīn was exceptionally long-lived, as Ibn Batutah says, there is no difficulty in the chronology, and the Shaikhu-l-islam may have been Najmu-d-dīn Saghra. We do not know when this man died, but he is said to have been deposed by Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh. Apparently then Jalālu-d-dīn left Delhi for Badaon and Bengal not later than 633, (1236 for Altamsh died in that year).

Bombay Geographical Society are rather scarce. They are not to be found in the British Museum or the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society,[1] but are in the India Office Library.

Extract from Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.[2]

"They (the islanders) have a tradition that about 400 years ago, the Muhammadan religion was introduced amongst them by a man whose name was Tabrīz, or whose country was so-called. The probability is, that the latter was the case.

"The tomb of this person, which is pointed out in Malē, is held in great veneration, and always kept in good repair. Some time afterwards, Christians (doubtless the Portuguese) came there, and propagated the tenets of their faith, but they were soon expelled by one of their own chiefs, who belonged to Attol Zilla Don Matee, and who re-established Muhammadanism amongst them, on a secure footing. Tabrīz, they say, came from Persia; and they state that shortly after his death, some of his countrymen, who came in search of him, remained, and when they died, were buried on the south-east point of the island. From the Persians, the islanders learned many songs in the language of that people, which are still sung, although not understood. The tambourine, it was also said, was brought there by them. We visited the graves of the Persians, and counted about sixty, only two of which had inscriptions that were legible, and bearing date 994th year of the Hijra, which would make them 257 years old.[3] One of these being in appearance less old than the other graves, it seemed probable that it was not the depository of the remains of any of the first settlers, but of those of one of their descendants. The Fandiarhee[4] has many Persian manuscripts, but only one could be procured by us."

Mr. Gray in his translation of the voyage of Pyrard of Laval has given an abstract of Young and Christopher's account, but he has adopted the faulty date of 1677, and has made some incorrect inferences there-

[1] The volume has since been found in the R. A. S. Library.

[2] Memoir on the inhabitants of the Maldiva Islands by Lieutenant J. A. Young, and Mr. W. Christopher, I, p. 54.

[3] Messrs. Young and Christopher were on the island in 1834-35. Their figures are nearly right, for 994 A. H. is 1586 and 1834–257 corresponds to 1577. Mr. Gray seems inadvertently to have read 157 for 257, for he gives the English date as 1677.

[4] The Fandiarhee is an officer next in authority to the Sultan, and who shares with him in the respect and veneration of the people. In him are united the two offices of head of the Church and Chief Magistrate. The reverence with which he is regarded, indicates the sincerity in them of the Muhammadan tenets. His decisions as Magistrate are always received with deference, and the natives in general shew that they entertain a high sense of the importance of his duties, particularly that of interpreter of the Koran, he being the only person amongst them who has a competent knowledge of the Arabic for a purpose considered so necessary (p. 70). (Ibn Batutah calls this officer Famaldārī. Perhaps the word comes from *fahm*, intelligence, but it seems more likely that it is a corruption of Faujdār. It may also be 'Āmildār).

from. I, however, quote Pyrard's words: "Some sepulchres they hold sacred, and at them keep many lamps burning continually." To this Mr. Gray adds from Young and Christopher's account: "A remarkable object on the island[1] is a tomb erected over the remains of a person who is regarded by the natives as the most eminent of their saints. The building, which is surmounted by a cupola and a short spire, is thirty feet high; the gate, over which a lantern is placed, is of copper network (T. Bo. Geo. Soc., I, 63)."

Ibn Batutah does not mention Jalālu-d-dīn in connection with the Maldives. According to him, Muhammadanism was introduced into the island by a Muhammadan from Barbary named Abū-l-barkāt, and he tells a romantic and interesting story of how the conversion of the islanders was brought about. He also says that he saw an inscription on a mosque, which stated that the Sulṭan had embraced Muhammadanism at the hands of Abū-l-barkāt. Ibn Batutah was twice at the Maldives, but both occasions were before he visited Bengal and saw Jalālu-d-dīn. As Jalālu-d-dīn asked him about his travels, it may be that it was Ibn Batutah's account of the Maldives that induced Jalālu-d-dīn to go there. He may, however, have done so simply on his way to Mecca, which it is said he used to visit every year.

There is a curious similarity between Ibn Batutah's narrative about Abū-l-barkāt, and the account of Jalālu-d-dīn's success in the Maldives in the Siyaru-l-ārifīn. The latter tells that Jalālu-d-dīn broke down the idol temple, and that one-half of the customs (Bandar) was assigned for the support of his langarkhāna there. Ibn Batutah tells us that *one-third* of the customs (Bandar, which he explains by an Arabic phrase rendered by his French translators *entrepôt de la douane*) is given to travellers in gratitude for Abū-l-barkāt's delivering the island from the power of a demon. It is unfortunate that the exact date when Ibn Batutah visited Bengal is not known. He left Tangiers on 2nd Rajjab 725 (14th June, 1325) and arrived in Bengal apparently about 741 (1341) when disputes were going on between Fakhru-d-dīn and 'Alī Shāh. In all probability the Sadkawan where Ibn Batutah landed is not Chittagong, but Sātgāōn, the Jamuna which he refers to being one of the streams into which the Ganges separates at Tribēnī.

Though Ibn Batutah is a confused and credulous writer, yet, I think, it cannot be doubted that he saw a man in Bengal or Assam, who was called Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī. In his account of Delhi, Ibn Batutah says that he devoted himself for five months to the service of a saint named Kamālu-d-dīn 'Abdu-llah Alghārī. Perhaps this is the Kamālu-d-dīn Jaffarī mentioned in the Siyaru-l-ārifīn as a friend of Jalālu-d-dīn.

[1] This is Malē or King's island (so called from the residence there of the Sultan). It is the principal atoll or island of the group, and lies at their southern extremity.

Note on some Coins of the Koch Kings.—By E. A. Gait, I.C.S.

(With Plate XXIV.)

[Read July, 1895.]

Several new coins of the Koch dynasty have recently come to light, and as very little is generally known regarding these coins, I propose to describe briefly the different specimens which I have seen. Marsden describes coins of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa and Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa only (MCCIII and MCCV), the dates on which he reads as Çaka 1649 and 1666 respectively. The symbol read by Marsden as a six is a curious figure closely resembling the English figure 5, and strangely enough, there can be no possible doubt that it is used to represent 5 on the coins under reference. The symbol in question is a common one, not only on Koch coins, but also on the coins of the Āhōm, Jaintiā and Tippera kings. It is not a six, as it often appears in conjunction with the usual symbol for that figure, *e.g.* on the coin of Çiva Siṁha given in Marsden (MCLIII), who in this case correctly reads it as a 5, and on a coin of Vijaya Nārāyaṇa of Tippera. Again in the case of many Āhōm coins, where we have a very accurate chronology apart from the testimony of coins, the dates on the coins agree perfectly with those recorded in the Burañjis if the symbol is read as 5, but not otherwise. So with the two Koch coins under discussion. The approximate dates of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa are 1584–1622 A. D. and of Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa 1627–1666 A. D. Now if the symbol be read as 6, the dates given above will utterly disagree with those on the coins, whereas if it be read as 5, the dates on the coins will be 1549 and 1555 Çaka, or 1627 and 1633 A. D. In this case, the latter will fall within the period during which the king whose name it bears reigned, while in the case of the former there is only a slight discrepancy which may be explained either by assuming a small error in the date assigned by tradition as marking the close of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa's reign, or by a mistake in the reading of the third figure. The latter is, I think, more likely for the reason given below.

There is a coin of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa in the possession of the Society,[1] the date on which is 1509 Çaka, and another coin of the same date has been described in the *Aruṇōdai* (an Assamese Vernacular Magazine) of March 1851. I have in my possession a third coin, also dated Çaka 1509. It will be noticed that the third figure in the specimen reproduced by Marsden is somewhat blurred, and I am inclined to think that the real date of this coin also is 1509 Çaka. There must in any case be some mistake about the date reported by Marsden to be on another coin of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa (No. MCCIV) which unfortunately has not been reproduced by him. He gives the date of the coin in question as Çaka 1659. Allowing for the misreading of the second figure this would be 1559, whereas the coin of Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa already referred to bears date 1555. Most probably, the true date on this coin also is Çaka 1509.

An earlier coin than either of the above was found some years ago in the Gāro Hills, and described in the *Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XLIV, page 306. This is a coin of Nara-nārāyaṇa, the second and greatest Koch King, and is dated Çaka 1477 (Plate XXIV, 1). I have procured two more specimens of this king's coins, both bearing the same date, but differing in the shape of the letters, while one of them has the word *Bhūpālasya* inserted after Nārāyaṇa (Plate XXIV, 2).

A careful search for coins of this dynasty has been in progress for some time past, but it has only resulted in the discovery of one new full coin, which has been presented to the Society by the owner, Babu Tanurām, Mauzadar of Hastinapur in Barpetā. The reading of this coin is :—

Obverse.—Çṛ Çṛ Raghu-dēva-nārāyaṇa-pālasya Çākē 1510.

Reverse.—Çṛ Çṛ Hara-gaurī-caraṇa-kamala-madhukarasya.

Particular interest attaches to this coin, because while the others all belong to Nara-nārāyaṇa or his descendants who ruled in the Western Koch Kingdom, this is the first specimen which has come to light which bears the name of a king of the Eastern Kingdom.[2] Raghu-dēva or Raghu Rāi as he is called in the *Vaṁçāvalī* of Rājā

[1] Procured for me two years ago by Babu Mādhav-candra Bardalai, Sub-Divisional officer of Barpeta, *vide Proceedings*, August 1893, page 146. [The date shown in the *Proceedings* (1069) is a misprint].

[2] For the genealogy of these kings, see my paper on the Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa, *Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXII page 305. I take this opportunity to correct a misprint on the page in question; the date in the sixth line from the bottom should be 1658 A. D. and not 1558 A. D. The coin here referred to was exhibited to the Society in May 1895, *vide Proceedings* for that month.

Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa,[1] came to the throne in 1583 A. D. So the coin was minted five years after his accession, and one year later than the coins issued by his contemporary, Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, the ruler of the Western Kingdom.

I now come to the half coins of the Koch Kings, regarding which there has been much misconception amongst numismatists. Only one such coin is mentioned by Marsden who attributes it, on the authority of Tavernier, to a Rājā named Maton Shāh, whose territory is said to be situated "beyond the first range of mountains bordering Hindustan to the north."

Another specimen is given in Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Vol. II, page XLV (No. 6), where it is described as a Cachar Coin of Çṛ Girīça-candra-nārāyaṇa.

Several specimens of these half coins were procured for me by Babu Mādhav-candra Bardalai two years ago, and noticed briefly in the *Proceedings* for August 1893 (page 146). When touring in the Eastern Duārs last January, I found that some varieties of these coins are still common and succeeded in getting a few useful specimens from the villagers.

The difficulty which has hitherto been felt in identifying these half coins lies in the fact that the legends on them are incomplete,—the method of manufacture adopted being apparently to strike a full coin and then to make half coins by stamping out the centre. It is thus impossible to read the legend on any individual coin without some clue, but starting with the assumption that they are coins of the Koch Kings and knowing the legends which are usually found on the full coins, it is no longer difficult to see that the reading of all the half coins is as follows :—

Obverse.—Çṛ Çṛ mat (name of king) -nārāyaṇasya Çākē (date).

Reverse.—Çṛ Çṛ Çiva-caraṇa-kamala-madhukarasya.

No half coin contains the whole of this legend, but as the portion stamped out is seldom the exact centre of the coin, a comparison of one coin with another shows that the above is undoubtedly the correct reading of these coins. Unfortunately the names of the kings in whose reigns they were minted are nearly always incomplete, and it is seldom that more can be read from them than the last two or three letters. We can however identify some of them by comparing the terminal letters with those of the Koch rulers of the western kingdom,

[1] He is called Raghu-dēva in the inscription in the temple of Hayagrīva at Hājo, which is quoted in the paper mentioned in the last footnote, and which bears date Çaka 1505.

of whom a list is given in Hunter's Statistic Account of Koch Bihār. They are :—

Nara-nārāyaṇa	1534–1584 A. D.
Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa	1584–1622 A. D.
Vīra-nārāyaṇa	1622–1627 A. D.
Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa	1627–1666 A. D.
Mada-nārāyaṇa	1666–1681 A. D.
Vasudēva-nārāyaṇa	1681–1683 A. D.
Mahēndra-nārāyaṇa	1683–1695 A. D.
Rūpa-nārāyaṇa	1695–1715 A. D.
Upēndra-nārāyaṇa	1715–1764 A. D.
Dēvēndra-nārāyaṇa	1764–1766 A. D.
Dhairyēndra-nārāyaṇa	1766–1771 A. D.
Rājēndra-nārāyaṇa	1771–1773 A. D.
Darēndra-nārāyaṇa	1773–1780 A. D.
Dhairyēndra-nārāyaṇa (again) ...	1780–1783 A. D.
Harēndra-nārāyaṇa	1783–1839 A. D.
Çivēndra-nārāyaṇa	1839–1847 A. D.

With these data, it would in any case seem probable that the coins (Nos. 3 and 4) referred to in the *Proceedings* for August 1893, were minted in the reign of Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa, and I have now procured another similar coin which places the matter beyond doubt, as the whole name (প্রাণ) is perfectly legible on it (Plate XXIV, 3).

The coin in the Society's Collection on which the termination of the king's name is পক্ষ is clearly a coin of Upēndra-nārāyaṇa (Plate XXIV, 4).

There remain a number of coins which show the termination of the king's name to be ক্ষ, দ্রক্ষ or দক্ষ. As there are several kings whose names end with these letters, it is difficult to identify these coins with any degree of certainty, and it is not improbable that some were minted by one king and others by another. I have recently procured a coin on which the whole name Çivēndra-nārāyaṇa can be clearly read (Plate XXIV, 5), and another in which the letter preceding the ন্দ্র seems to be *r* and not *v*,[1] so that it must be a coin of either Darēndra-nārāyaṇa or Harēndra-nārāyaṇa (Plate XXIV, 6).

Lastly there is a coin on which the termination of the name seems to be *āndra*, which does not fit in with any of the names of Koch Kings quoted above (Plate XXIV, 7). Another peculiarity about this

[1] The letter is similar to the Assamese *r*, in which the sign distinguishing this letter from *v* is a bar across the triangle and not a dot below it, as is the case in Bengali.

coin is that there is a small letter *s* above the *ndra*, the meaning of which is not very clear.

The above coins are all of silver, but I have also seen some copper coins; brass coins are also not unknown.

When commencing the discussion of these half coins, their identity with Koch coins, was referred to as 'assumed.' There can however be no doubt that they really are Koch coins, for apart from the fact that their language, character and legends are identical with those of the full coins of the Koch dynasty, we have seen that two of them bear the full names of Koch Kings (Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa and Çivēndra-nārāyaṇa). As already stated, they are still common in the Eastern Duars where they are well known as "*Nārāyaṇī* rupees."

It will be seen that the above account of the coinage of the Koch Kings is not very complete but it contains a notice of all the coins which I have hitherto met with. The search for other coins of this dynasty is still being continued, and it is hoped that in course of time more may come to light.

Postscript.

Since the above note was written, I have had an opportunity of examining the collection of Koch Coins in the British Museum, which includes those described in Marsden's work.

There are in all, five coins of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, and there is no doubt that the date on all of them is 1509 Çaka, although in one or two cases the third figure is somewhat defective.

There is, I find, a coin of Raghu-dēva in the Museum, similar in all respects to that noticed in the Society's proceedings for May last. The collection includes three full coins of Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa, two of which bear date 1555 Çaka; the date on the third coin is not decipherable.

The half coins of the Koch Kings are kept in a separate tray, which was originally labelled "Bhotan," but this was subsequently altered to "Kachār," presumably on the authority of Prinsep (Ind. Antiq. Vol. II. p. XLV). This tray contains several half coins not mentioned in the above note, *viz.*, of Mada-nārāyaṇa, Rūpa-nārāyaṇa and Dhairyēndra-nārāyaṇa. There are several coins in the collection with "āndra" on the termination of the King's name, and it is noted against one of them that it is reported by Jenkins (General Jenkins) to be a Bhotia forgery.

14*th August*, 1895. E. A. G.

Some Notes on Jaintiā History.—*By* E. A. Gait, I.C.S.

(With Plate XXIV)

[Read July, 1895.]

Although Jaintiā was an independent state up to 1835 A.D., its past history is almost a blank, and we know nothing of the causes which united the Syntengs under one ruler, while their neighbours and close congeners, the Khāsīs, preserved a democratic constitution, and remained split up into numerous petty states, nor of how the kings came under Hindū influence and eventually left the hills and settled down at Jaintiāpur in the plains tract north of the Surma river. Neither is it known how the tract in question, which contains a numerous Musalman population and extends to within a few miles of Sylhet town, came into their possession.

This piece of country, which is now known as the Jaintiā parganas and forms part of the Sylhet district, is at the present time being resettled under my supervision, and the opportunity has been taken to piece together the few items of information regarding its ancient history which could be collected.

The materials which have been gathered are, however, very scanty; they consist of (1) traditions, (2) inscriptions on coins, (3) inscriptions on copper-plates (land grants), and (4) references in the burañjis of the Āhōms and in the *Vaṁçāvalī* of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa.[1] The information under the first three heads has been obtained chiefly by Babu Giris Candra Dās, Assistant Settlement Officer, who has shown much industry and perseverance in pursuing his enquiries in the directions indicated to him.

Coins.

That the kings of Jaintiā had a mint at an early date is shown by the statement in the *Vaṁçāvalī* of Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa to the effect that

[1] See paper on the Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa.—*J. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 268.

when Nara-nārāyaṇa defeated the Rājā of Jaintiā (a few years prior to 1565 A.D.), one of the conditions which he imposed on the defeated monarch was, that, in future, coins should not be struck in his own name, but that his capital only should be mentioned. This story may perhaps explain why so few Jaintiā coins bear the name of the king in whose reign they were struck, but are simply described as coins "of the most illustrious ruler of Jaintiāpur."

Although there is thus reason to believe that coins were minted more than 270 years before the annexation of the country, it would seem that their use as a medium of exchange was never very extended. In a report submitted in 1835 A.D., by the Commissioner of Dacca (Mr. Lowis), it is said:

"It is needless to speculate on the fact that the rājā had a tolera-"bly large sum of money in his possession, or that many of the Viṣaya-"dārs have probably considerable hordes; the fact is indisputable that "all the more weighty transactions of the community were effected "without the help of any thing approaching to the same quantity of "silver that circulates elsewhere. The labourer mostly satisfied the "demand against him with labour, the producer with produce, and it "would be just as reasonable to expect to find a supply of beaver hats "or Saxon broadcloth as silver, in places when the general wants of the "community have not been such as to demand a supply of these com-"modities."

All rents in the time of the rājās were paid in kind, and one of the chief difficulties experienced by the early British administrators of the tract lay in the substitution of money rents for payment in kind.

The Jaintiā rupees were locally known as *kāṭrā ṭākā* from the fact that they bore the device of a sword on them. Unlike the coinage of the Āhōms, which was exceptionally pure, they were made of very debased metal, which was doubtless a result of the system under which the right to mint coins was sold by auction to the highest bidder. Two coins bearing date 1712 Çaka were sent in 1836 A.D. to the Assay Master, Calcutta, for analysis, and were found to contain respectively—

Silver	68	parts and	Silver	87·5
Copper	123	„ „	Copper	116·9
Zinc	47	„ „	Zinc	33·6
Other metals	2	„ „	Other metals	2
	240			240

According to the Company's standard, the value of the first coin was reported to be 3 annas and that of the second 4 annas 9 pie.

With the exception of a few of more recent date, Jaintiā coins are

now exceedingly rare, and the only collection which I have come across is one found in the possession of an old man living at Jaintiāpuri rāj, the former capital. The following is a list of the coins in this collection with the inscriptions on them:

(1) *Whole coin of* 1591 *Çaka.*
obverse. *Çr Çr Jayantāpura-purandarasya, Çākē* 1591.
reverse. *Çr Çr Raghunātha-pāda-padma-parāyaṇasya* (Plate XXIV, 8).

(2) *Whole coin of* 1592 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Jayantāpura-purandarasya Çākē* 1592.
rev. *Çr Çr Çiva-carana-kamala-madhukarasya* (Plate XXIV, 9).

(3) *Whole coin of* 1630 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Jayantāpura-purandarasya Çākē* 1630.
rev. *Çr Çiva-carana-kamala-madhukarasya* (Plate XXIV, 10).

(4) *Whole coin of* 1653 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Jayantāpura-purandarasya Çākē* 1653.
rev. *Çr Çr Çiva-caraṇa-kamala-madhukarasya* (Plate XXIV, 11).

(5) *Quarter coin of* 1653 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Rājā Baṛa Guçāī.*
rev. *Siṅha Bāhādurasya* 1653 (Plate XXIV, 12).

(6) *Whole coin of* 1696 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Jāyantāpura-purandarasya Çākē* 1696.
rev. *Çr Çiva-caraṇa-kamala-madhukarasya* (Plate XXIV, 13).

(7) *Whole coin of* 1704 *Çaka.*
obv. As above, with date 1704 *Çākē* (Plate XXIV, 14).
rev. As above.

(8) *Whole coin of* 1707 *Çaka.*
obv. As above, with date 1707 *Çākē* (Plate XXIV, 15).
rev. As above.

(9) *Whole coin of* 1712 *Çaka.*
obv. As above, with date 1712 *Çākē* (Plate XXIV, 16).
rev. As above.

(10) *Quarter coin of* 1712 *Çaka.*
obv. *Çr Çr Rāma-siṅha-nṛpavarasya*
rev. *Çākē* 1712 (Plate XXIV, 17).

These coins have been purchased from the owner and sent to the Society. The interest attaching to them is less than it otherwise would be, owing to the fact already adverted to, that only two of them bear the name of the ruler under whose orders they were struck. These two furnish us with the following dates:—

Baṛa Guçāī Siṅha 1653 Çaka
Rāma-siṅha 1712 Çaka.

I have not included in the above list one coin in the collection (Plate XXIV, 18) because it seems doubtful whether it is a Jaintiā Coin or not. The legend is as follows:

obv. *Çr Çr Jaya-simha-bhūpālasya Çākē* 1585.
rev. *Çr Çr Hara-gaurī-caraṇa-parāyaṇa.*

The character is very similar to that on the coins known to belong to Jaintiā, and the distinctive dagger or sword is engraved on the reverse. On the other hand there is no reference to Jaintiāpur and the legend on the reverse is not found on any of the known Jaintiā coins.

Copper Plates.

Up to the present time, the following copper plates only have been collected:

(1) *Copper Plate, dated* 1692 *Çaka.*

This plate sets forth that the king, Baṛa Guçāī Simha, having become a Sannyāsī, makes a grant of 192 *Kedars* of land to Lila Puri Svāmi, with the consent of his nephews and nieces, including his successor Chattra Simha, and in the presence of his Prime Minister, U. Maupnar Laskar and the Commander-in-Chief Māṇikya Rāy.

(2) *Copper Plate, dated* 1710 *Çaka.*

This recites a grant by Kāṣā Sati Dēvī, the consort of the above mentioned Baṛa Guçāī, of plots of land aggregating 35 *hāls*[1] for the service of the image of the Goddess Kālī in the monastery of Lila Puri Sannyāsī. The grant was made with the concurrence of the princes and of the Rājā Vijaya-nārāyaṇa. On the reverse of this plate are recorded two more grants by the same queen in 1724 and 1725 Çaka, respectively.

(3) *Copper plate, dated* 1720 *Çaka.*

In this plate is set forth the grant by Rājā Rāma-simha of some land for the temple of Çiva which had been erected by him at Dhupi.

(4) *Copper plate, dated* 1727 *Çaka.*

This, like No. (2), records a grant by Kāsā Satī, widow of Baṛa Guçāī, the donee being one Nityānanda, the Guru of Rājā Rāma-simha.

[1] In Cachar, the *hāl* is equivalent to 4·815 acres; in Jaintiā it is said to have been somewhat less. A *kedar* or *kiyar* is the twelfth part of a *hāl*. The term *hāl* occurs also in two old copper plates found in Sylhet some years ago and deciphered by the late Dr. Rājēndra Lāla Mittra.

(5) *Copper plate, dated* 1735 *Çaka.*

This is another grant by the same lady, with the consent of Rājā Rāma-siṁha, of some land for the worship of the idols of Vasudēva, Jagannātha and Bhūdhara.[1]

The Jaintiā Kings.

It is known that the Jaintiā Rājās were of Synteng or Khāsī descent, and that although they had long come under the influence of Hinduism, the Khāsī custom of descent through the female continued to the end.[2] But beyond this we know nothing definite. The old people still preserve a few traditions and profess to know the genealogy of their kings, and all we can hope to do is to test their scanty statements by comparing them with the few scraps of information furnished by the coins and copper plates mentioned above and by stray allusions in the annals of neighbouring states.

The names of the Jaintiā kings with the order in which they are said to have reigned are noted below.

1. Parbat Rāy.
2. Mājha Guçāī.
3. Buṛha Parbat Rāy.
4. Baṛa Guçāī.
5. Vijaya Mānik.
6. Pratāpa Rāy.
7. Dhan Mānik.
8. Jasa Mānik.
9. Sundar Rāy.
10. Chōṭa Parbat Rāy.
11. Jasamanta Rāy.
12. Vāna-siṁha.
13. Pratāpa-siṁha.
14. Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa.
15. Rām-siṁha.
16. Jaya-nārāyaṇa.
17. Baṛa Guçāī.
18. Chattra-siṁha.
19. Vijaya-nārāyaṇa.
20. Rāma-siṁha.
21. Indra-siṁha.
22. Rājēndra-siṁha, until the annexation in 1835 A.D.

Of the first six of these kings, tradition tells us nothing beyond their names, and there is no mention of them elsewhere. As regards Dhan Mānik, the seventh in the list, the Āhōm *burañjis* relate that he was at war with the Kachāris, whose king was named Bhīmbal, and that in order to enlist the Āhōms on his side, he sent to Pratāpa-siṁha, otherwise known as Çuçeṇpha, offering him his daughter in marriage,

[1] A curious feature about all these copper plates is that the seal at the top of them is almost identical with the device on the coins of the kings of Tipperah.

[2] Report of Commissioner of Dacca to the Board of Revenue, dated 13th Novr. 1835. From the first of the copper plates described above it will be seen that the Prime Minister in 1692 Çaka was not Hinduised, as he still bore a Khāsī name and used the distinctive Khasi prefix "U."

on condition that he fetched her *viâ* Sātgāõ which lay in the Kachāir country. This was in 1535 Çaka (A.D. 1618). The Āhōm king accepted the offer, and the result was a war with the Kachāris. The Āhōm *burañjis* further state that in the course of the reign of the same king (Pratāpa-siṁha), Maṇala Rājā of Ḍimuṛia submitted and became tributary to the Āhōms, in order to escape from the oppression of Jasa Mānik of Jaintiā, so that it may be concluded that Jasa Mānik was reigning some time between 1618 and 1639 A.D. (the date of Pratāpa's death), and was probably the successor of Dhan Mānik as stated by the people of Jaintiā. Local tradition has it that Jasa Mānik went to Koch Bihār and married a princess of the Koch family, and that when he returned he brought the image Jaintēçvarī with him.

Of the next five kings on the list, no record has so far been traced, but of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa we know that he was living in 1632 Çaka (1710 A.D.), as there is an inscription on the ruined palace at Jaintiāpurī rāj (the old capital) which bears that date, in which it is stated that Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa was the king who caused the palace to be built.

The next reference is found in the *Āsām burañji* of Kāçīnāth Tāmuli Phukan, in which it is stated[1] that towards the close of his reign, Rudra-siṁha, who reigned from 1617 to 1636 Çaka, advanced as far as Mīcā Mukh in Nowgong on his way to invade Jaintiā, when the king Rāma-siṁha hastened to tender his submission.

The next king Jaya-nārāyaṇa has left no trace behind him, but of his successor, Baṛa Guçāī, we have a coin dated 1653 Çaka and a copper plate dated 1692 Çāka. From the latter it appears that he abdicated the throne and became an ascetic in the year in which it was inscribed, while it may, perhaps, be assumed that the coin was struck in the year of his accession. If so, his dates will be from 1731 to 1770 A.D.

There is a tradition that this king and his sister Gaurī Kuarī were taken prisoners by the Sīm of Khyrim, but escaped by the aid of men sent by Amara-siṁha, Sīm of Cherrapuñji. It is said that the two villages at which they halted on their return journey to Jaintiāpurī rāj[2] were given to the Cherra Sīm by Baṛa Guçāī as a reward for his services on this occasion; these villages are still held *lākhirāj* by his descendants.

The plate referred to above says that Chattra-siṁha was the successor of Baṛa Guçāī, so 1692 Çaka may be taken as the date of his accession.

[1] *loc. cit.* p. 35.

[2] Angajur and Fatehpur.

From the next copper plate, which bears date 1710 Çaka, it appears that Chattra-siṁha had by that time been succeeded by Vijaya-nārāyaṇa, who in his turn probably died in 1712 Çaka, which is the date found on the coin which bears the name of Rāma-siṁha. The copper plates show that Rāma-siṁha was still reigning in 1735 Çaka or 1813 A.D. Indra-siṁha who succeeded him died shortly before the annexation in 1835 A.D.

From the above it will be seen that the traditional genealogy of the 14th to the 22nd king is confirmed by the inscriptions, &c., which have been collected. The seventh and eighth kings are mentioned in Āhōm chronicles in the order in which they are placed by tradition, and the interval between the date when the eighth king was reigning (*cis* 1638 A.D.) and that of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa's inscription on the palace at Jaintiāpurī rāj (1710 A.D.) is about what would suffice for the reigns of the five intervening princes of whom no record has hitherto been found. There is therefore, fair reason for accepting the traditional genealogy as correct, so far at least, as the seventh and subsequent kings are concerned.

The story of the annexation of Jaintiā is told at sufficient length in Mackenzie's North-Eastern Frontier. It will suffice to mention here that it was due to the abduction of four British subjects as human sacrifices to Kālī.[1]

[1] This custom of offering human sacrifices was common amongst the Āhōms, Koches and Kachāris, and will form the subject of a separate note later on.

Ancient Cēdi, Matsya, and Karūṣa.—*By* F. E. Pargiter, B.A., I.C.S.

(With a Map, Pl. XXV).

[Read August 1895.]

The ancient country of Cēdi is one of which little information is given in Sanskrit writings in comparison with the important part which its kings played in early history.

General Sir A. Cunningham in his Archæological Survey of India places Cēdi on the R. Narmadā (Nerbudda) and in Chattīsgaṛh. He says, 'Tewar or Tripura was the capital of the Kulachuri Rājās of Chedi. In the Haima Koṣa Tripura is also called Chedinagari. Amongst the Brahmans it is famous as the site of the defeat of the demon Tripura by Siva. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is of great antiquity; although it is probable that it was not the most ancient capital of the celebrated Chedi-des. At a very early period the whole of the country lying along the upper course of the Narbada would appear to have been occupied by the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas. In the Mahā-bhārata several different persons are mentioned as kings of Chedi; but as nothing is said about their relationship, they most probably belonged to different divisions of the country. It would seem therefore that, some time before the composition of the Mahābhārata, the land of Chedi had already been divided into two or more independent states, of which one belonged to Rājā Sisu-pāla, whose capital is not mentioned; and another to the father of Chitrāngadā, whose capital was Manipura. The capital of Chedi in the time of Rājā Vasu is said to have been situated on the Suktimati River, which according to the Purānas has its rise in the Ṛiksha range of hills along with the Tons and the Narbada. In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya States in Central India, *viz.*, the kingdom of Mahā Kosala with Manipur for its capital, and the kingdom of Chedi proper with Tripura for its capital. But as the Haihayas of Kosala date their inscriptions in the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat by name, we have an additional proof that their country was

once included within the limits of the ancient Chedi. I incline therefore to look upon Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) as the original capital of Chedi-des and to identify the Suktimati river with the Sakri which rises in the hills of the Kāwarda State to the west of Lāphā.' (Rep. Arch. Surv. IX. pp. 54 and 55). And the title Kulachuri or Kalachuri 'would seem to have been confined to the Tripuri branch of the Haihayas and its ramifications; while the Manipur kings, after the transfer of their capital to Ratanpur, were known as the Ratnavali Haihayas.' (*Ibid.*, p. 57). And again, 'as we learn from the Mahābhārata that the capital of Chedi was situated on the Suktimati river; and as we know that the Mahanadī flowed through the country of Chedi, I am more inclined to accept the Mahanadi as the representative of the Suktimati, and to place the capital of Kosala [Chedi?] on its banks.' (*Id*, XVII. p. 24).

The notices of Cēdi, however, which are found here and there in the Mahā-bhārata and elsewhere shew very plainly that, whatever may have been the movements of the Cēdi princes in after years, the country of Cēdi in the Pāṇḍavas' time was very far north of the Narmadā and Mahānadī.

Cēdi was closely associated with Matsya. King Vasu, who established a dynasty in Cēdi, had a son called Matsya who became a king (M.-bh., Ādi-p., lxiii. 2371–93; and Hari-vaṁça, xxxii. 1804–6), and though it is not stated where Matsya reigned, yet it seems reasonable to suppose he reigned in Matsya. But putting that aside, it is stated positively that an ancient king Sahaja reigned over both the Cēdis and the Matsyas (Udyōga-p., lxxiii. 2732). Matsya as will be seen was the country south-west of Indra-prastha or Delhi, and it would have been impossible for one king to rule over that district and a kingdom on the Narmadā, whether the intervening region was peopled or covered with forest. This passage demonstrates that Cēdi must have touched Matsya.

Further the Cēdis are often joined with certain other people, as if forming a natural group; thus they are linked in one compound with the Matsyas and Karūṣas (*e.g.*, Bhīṣma-p., ix. 348; liv. 2242; and Karṇa-p., xxx. 1231), and with the Kāçis and Karūṣas (*e.g.*, Ādi-p., cxxiii. 4796; and Bhīṣma-p., cxvii. 5446). Kāçi was of course Benares; and the position of Matsya and Karūṣa may be determined here, because Lassen has placed them erroneously in his map (Ind. Alt.), Matsya north of Allahabad and Benares, and Karūṣa in the north of Oudh.

Brahmāvarta was the country between the rivers Saras-vatī on the north and Dṛṣad-vatī on the south and east (Manu II. 17). South and east of it lay Brahmarṣi-dēça, which comprised Kuru-kṣētra,

Matsya, Pāñcāla and Çūrasēna (*ibid.*, 19). Now Kuru-kṣētra, it is well-known, was the land south of the Dṛṣad-vatī; Pāñcāla comprised the middle portion of the Ganges and Jumna Doab; and Çūrasēna was the country around Mathurā, the modern Muttra. Matsya as part of Brahmarṣi-dēça touched Kuru-kṣētra on the south and Çūrasēna on the west. This will appear from the following references.

Matsya lay southward from Khāṇḍava-prastha or Indra-prastha, for the first two countries which Saha-dēva conquered in his Expedition to the Southern region were Çūrasēna and Matsya (Sabhā-p., xxx. 1105-6). Its position to the west of Çūrasēna is also brought out clearly by the description of the Pāṇḍavas' journey to the court of Virāṭa king of Matsya, when they had resolved on spending their last year of exile in concealment there; for crossing the Kālindī or Yamunā in the south portion of the Doab, they travelled north-westward, passing north of the Daçārṇas and south of the Pāñcālas and then through the Yakṛllōmas and Çūrasēnas into Matsya (Virāṭa-p., v. 141–5).

These indications entirely bear out Cunningham's statement that Matsya was the country west of Agra and north of the R. Chambal (Rep. Arch. Surv. II. p. 242; and XX. p. 2 and Plate I); though it would perhaps be a little more precise to say Matsya comprised the modern State of Alwar with the country around it, and stretched southward as far as the R. Chambal, for it touched Cēdi there. South of Matsya were certain people called Apara-Matsyas (Sabhā-p., xxx. 1108), and they very probably occupied the hilly tract on the north bank of that river, that is, they were the inhabitants of the southern portion of Matsya.

Such being the position of Matsya, it appears plain how there could have been frequent raids between Matsya and Trigarta which lay on the north of Brahmāvarta (Virāṭa-p., xxx); and how the Pāṇḍavas, when wandering about in the forests after they had been burnt out of Vāraṇāvata (Ādi-p., cxlviii.), visitedt he Matsyas, Trigartas, Pāñcālas and Kīcakas, which were thè nations that surrounded the Kurus (*id.*, clvi. 6084–7); and again how, when Çalya king of Madra (the capital of which, Çākala, was in the Rechna Doab between the rivers Chenab and Ravi—Sabhā-p., xxxi. 1196-7; and Cunningham's Arch Surv. Repts., II. pp. 192–6) was marching to see the Pāṇḍavas in Matsya at the beginning of the great war, Duryōdhana had time to hear the news at Hāstina-pura and get an interview with him on the way, (Udyōga-p., vii).

The mention of the Matsyas in the description of Bhīma's conquests in the East region (Sabhā-p., xxix. 1081-2) is no doubt a mistake; whether it is a mistake for Vatsa, which was the country at

the south end of the Ganges and Jumna Doab with its capital at Kauçāmbī, the modern Kōsam (Arch. Surv. Repts., I. pp. 301–310), is not clear, for Vatsa is definitely mentioned in *ibid.*, 1084. So also the double mention of the Matsyas in the list of Indian peoples in the Bhīṣma-p. (ix. 347 and 348) appears to be a mistake, and here there can be little doubt that the name in the first of these verses should be Vatsa (or Vātsya, as the people were also called), for otherwise the Vatsas are not mentioned in the list at all.

The capital of Matsya was *Upa-plavya* or *Upa-plava* (Çalya-p., xxxvi. 1973–6). From there to Hāstina-pura was less than two days' journey by chariot, for Kṛṣṇa in going from there to see Dhṛta-rāṣṭra, started one day, reached a village Vṛka-sthala at evening, and went on to Hāstina-pura next day (Udyōga-p., lxxxiii. 3010–17; lxxxv. 3040; and lxxxviii. 3101).

Now there are a few indications given in the Rāmāyaṇa regarding the speed at which people could travel by chariot in ancient times. Thus, the messengers who were despatched from Ayōdhyā express to the Kēkaya capital Giri-vraja in the Panjab, to inform Bharata of his father Daça-ratha's death, accomplished the journey in just seven days (Ayōdh.-k., lxx. 2–19); and Bharata in hastening back by a different route spent seven nights on the way so that he completed the distance within eight days (*Id.*, lxxiii. 2–17). Cunningham has identified Giri-vraja with the modern Jalalpur on the Jhelam (Arch. Surv. Repts., II. pp. 14, 173–177), but it is not essential to the present purpose whether this identification is perfectly correct or not, for it is quite certain that the Kaikēya or Kēkaya country and Giri-vraja occupied more or less nearly the position which he has assigned them. The distance from there to Ayodhyā is about 650 miles in a direct line, and may be taken to have been about 700 by road. The messengers then travelled at about 100 miles per day, and Bharata at about 90. Again, when Janaka king of Vidēha, sent messengers to Ayōdhyā to invite Daça-ratha to Mithilā, they travelled in carriages driven fast and reached Ayōdhyā on the fourth day (Ādi-k., lxx. 1). This distance is about 200 miles, and the day's journey would have been about 50 or 60 miles: this slower rate may be explained by the very reasonable supposition that the roads to the east were not so good as those through Madhya-dēça.

Upa-plavya therefore was probably not more than about 150 miles from Hāstina-pura, and this distance would make Upa-plavya fall somewhere in the neighbourhood of Alwar or Bairāt. Cunningham says Bairāt represents the ancient capital Vairāṭa, but I have met no passage in the Mahā-bhārata which calls Upa-plavya by that name, and it does

not appear to be certain that the two names mean one and the same city; though it is of course very possible that the name derived from king Virāṭa may have superseded the older name. Lassen places Upaplavya on the site of the modern Amballa (Ind. Alt., Map).

We may now return to Cēdi. King Vasu, while out hunting one day, sent (it is fabled) a message home to his queen by a hawk, and the bird flew over the Jumna on its way to her (Ādi-p., lxiii. 2373–87). Hence it appears Cēdi must have bordered on that river; the king could hardly go hunting in forest territory far from his realm; and it may even be inferred perhaps that the business entrusted to the bird implies that the king could not have been at a great distance from his capital. This fable, absurd as it is, yet must have a real and true ingredient of topography in it, for Satya-vatī dwelt on the banks of the Jumna and gave birth to Vyāsa on an island in that river (*Ibid.*, 2396–2426), and the story which explains the lineage and honour of queen Satya-vatī and the great Sage in a miraculous manner, yet harmoniously with ancient ideas, would not have given satisfaction unless it agreed with the well-known conditions of the country.

Cēdi is said to be one of the countries around the Kurus when the Pāṇḍavas debated where they should spend the last year of their exile (Virāṭa-p., i. 11-12); and Yudhiṣṭhira names the Cēdis with the Kāçis, Pāñcālas, and Matsyas as the nearest nations with whose friendly intervention he chose five villages for his kingdom of Indra-prastha (Udyōga-p., lxxi. 2594-5). And, as has been mentioned already, Cēdi touched Matsya. It is said to be in the eastern region when Bhīma went forth on his expedition to conquer the east (Sabhā-p., xxviii. 1069–74); but it was in the southern portion of that region, for it is connected with the Daçārṇas (who dwelt on the modern river Dasān in Bundēlkhaṇḍ) and with the Pulindas (who appear to have dwelt south of the Daçārṇas)

All these conditions can only be satisfied by placing Cēdi along the south bank of the Jumna from the R. Chambal on the north-west about as far as Karwi (which is north-east of Citra-kūṭa) on the south-east; and its limits southward would have been the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundēlkhaṇḍ. Cēdi is placed in the south in the story of Arjuna's following the sacrificial horse over India (Āçva-mēdh.-p., lxxxiii. 2466–9), and the position now proposed will satisfy this passage also. The Yakṛllōmas, who have been mentioned above in connexion with Matsya, were probably a tribe dwelling along the north of the Cēdi territory, for, beyond that they are named in Bhīṣma-p., ix. 353, they are hardly to be found alluded to elsewhere.

The capital of Cēdi is said in the Mahā-bhārata to be Çukti-matī

(Vana-p., xxii. 898), or as it was also called by way of variety Çuktisāhvayā (Āçva-mēdh.-p, lxxxiii. 2466-7). It was situated on the R. Çukti-matī, for it is said the river flowed towards the city, and a legend was told that Mount Kōlāhala, being in love with the river, obstructed her, but king Vasu gave the mountain a kick and the river flowed out through the passage made by the blow (Ādi-p., lxiii. 2367–70). Cunningham's identification of the river and city has been quoted above, and Mr. Beglar has proposed another solution (Arch. Surv. Repts., VIII. pp. 123–125), but they do not agree with the position now found for Cēdi, nor with the further data which I now proceed to discuss.

The Çukti-matī river is said in the Purāṇas to rise in the Vindhya range, and not in the Ṛkṣa range as Cunningham says. There is some confusion between the two ranges in the Purāṇas, largely through errors of transmission, and partly also because the two ranges form a kind of knot at Amara-kaṇṭaka, where the Narmadā, Sone and Mahānadī in its Seonath branch (which was formerly considered the main stream) rise, and these rivers were held to rise in the Vindhya Mountains; but looking at the other rivers assigned to these two watersheds, the Çukti-matī is grouped with the Daçārṇā (Dasan), Citra-kūṭā (near Mount Citra-kūṭa), Vipāçā (Bias, a tributary of the Ken), Tamasā (Tons) and Viçālā (at Gaya), all of which unquestionably rise in the long Vindhya chain; and not with the Tāpī (upper part of the Tapti), Payōṣṇī (Purna and lower part of the Tapti), Vēṇā or Vēṇyā (Wain-ganga) and Vaitaraṇī (Bytarni) which unquestionably rise in the Ṛkṣa range. The actual grouping decides this matter, and not the mere text of the Purāṇas which may be and is full of mistakes; thus the Matsya Purāṇa (cxiii. 25–28) and the Kūrma (xlvii. 30–33) wrongly interchange the names of the two ranges, making the former group of rivers rise in the Ṛkṣa Mountains and the latter in the Vindhya; while the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (lvii. 21–25) makes the same mistake as to the second group and declares the first group rise in the Skandha range, when there are no such Mountains! These errors and the not infrequent jumble of names are no doubt due to the ignorance of transcribers; for it is a remarkable fact that the early Sanskrit writers had a much better knowledge of the Geography of India than their successors; the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahā-bhārata contain a considerable quantity of fairly accurate information, while the Raghu-vaṁça, Çiçupāla-badha and modern poems are singularly barren in this respect.

The R. Çukti-matī then rises in the Vindhya Mts.; and it must be noted that in the Purāṇa lists this name includes the hills about as far west only as Saugor where the Daçārṇā rises, for the next im-

portant river westward the Vētra-vatī (Betwa) is assigned to the Pāripātra watershed. Presumably then the Çukti-matī must be east of the Daçārṇā, and the only noteworthy river in that direction which breaks through the hills is the Ken. I have not been able to discover any Sanskrit name for the Ken. Lassen gives its ancient name as Kāyana (Ind. Alt., Map), and Cunningham says Ken or Kayān is a corruption of Karṇa-vatī (Arch. Surv. Repts., II. p. 446, and XXI. p. 156); but I have not met with either of these names any where else, nor are they mentioned in Prof. Sir M. Monier-Williams' Dictionary. Now the Ken is too large and important a river to have escaped being noticed and named, especially when its western-most tributary was called the Vipāçā (Bias). Putting these facts together then, it seems to me the Ken must be the Çukti-matī. It breaks through the hills between Panna and Bijawar in a way that suits the legend, and it flows through the country, which on quite different reasoning has been identified as Cēdi. The results of these two entirely independent lines of argument certainly corroborate each other, and the reasons for accepting this identification, to which I have been led solely in the course of working out the foregoing data, appear to be very strong.

Mount Kōlāhala then would be the hills between Panna and Bijawar; it is not a single hill, for that would hardly suit the legend, and moreover the Sanskrit words *parvata*, *giri*, &c., often denote a cluster or group or chain of hills, while *çikhara*, *çṛṅga*, &c., are more properly the terms for a single hill or peak.

The capital Çukti-matī then must have been situated on the Ken after it breaks through the hills, but its exact site can only be discovered by careful local inquiry and the aid of large maps. It may, however, be placed provisionally in the neighbourhood of Banda, for that would be about the most suitable position for a capital with regard to the configuration of the country.

We may next consider the position of Karūṣa. The word is also written Kāruṣa, Kārūṣa, and Kāruṣaka. The Karūṣas constituted a powerful nation under king Danta-vakra in the Pāṇḍavas' time (Sabhā-p., xiii. 575–7; and Hari-v., xci. 4963), and the royal line was a famous one (Ādi-p., lxvii. 2700); yet they seem to have consisted of several tribes, for Karūṣa "kings" are spoken of (Udyōga-p., iii. 81). The Karūṣas were not looked upon as closely allied to the nations around them, for their origin is carried in the Hari-vaṁça directly back to an eponymous ancestor Karūṣa, a son of Manu Vaivasvata (x. 614; and xi. 658).

The position of Karūṣa is indicated by the following allusions. It is linked with Cēdi and Matsya as already mentioned: with Kāçi

(Bhīṣma-p., lvi. 2415); with Cēdi and Kāçi as already mentioned; and with the Vātsyas or Vatsas (Droṇa-p., xi. 396) whose position has been stated above. Moreover king Danta-vakra acknowledged Jarāsandha king of Magadha (*i.e.*, the modern districts of Gayā and Patna) as his suzerain (Sabhā-p., xiii. 575–7; and Hari-v., xci. 4963). Viçvāmitra, when taking the youthful Rāma to slay the Yakṣiṇī Tāḍakā, crossed from the R. Sarayū to the south of the Ganges and entered the modern district of Shāhābād; and said that that region had once been inhabited by the Malajas and Karūṣas (Rāmāy., Ādi-k., xxvii. 8-23). Lastly Karūṣa is described in the Mahā-bhārata as a country not very accessible (Sabhā-p., li. 1864): and the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa says distinctly that Karūṣa is one of the countries touching the Vindhya Mts. which stretch from Malwa into Bihar (lvii. 52–53), and so also the Matsya Purāṇa (cxiii. 51–52).

Karūṣa therefore was a hilly country and lay south of Kāçi and Vatsa, between Cēdi on the west and Magadha on the east, and enclosing the Kaimur hills which are part of the Vindhyas; that is it comprised all the hilly country of which Rewa is the centre, from about the river Ken on the west to the confines of Bihar on the east. It would have touched Cēdi on its north-west and Daçārṇa on its west.

The passage cited from the Rāmāyaṇa suggests that the Karūṣas originally inhabited the Shahabad district and the region of the lower Sone, and had been driven out shortly before Rāma's time southward and south-westward into the hilly country which is shewn to have been their territory in the Pāṇḍavas' time and afterwards; but as all the country was dense forest about Prayāga and Citra-kūṭa in Rāma's time (J. R. A. S., 1894, pp. 238–241), it may also be inferred that the Karūṣas had not then acquired all that territory, but were spreading westwards over it gradually.

We may next notice the information which is to be gleaned regarding the dynasty which reigned over Cēdi. It began with Vasu, who was surnamed Upari-cara, and who took possession of the country at Indra's command (Ādi-p., lxiii. 2334-5). From the description given of it, it appears to have been a flourishing land already; so that Vasu did not carve out a new realm, but must have invaded an attractive country and possessed himself of the sovereignty of it, in commemoration whereof he established a festival in Indra's honour (*ibid.*, 2340-5 and 2361). He was not a Haihaya, but a Paurava as the first of these passages shews, though no further allusion is made to his parentage. There is some divergence as to the period when he lived. As father of Satya-vatī he would have been contemporary with Bhīṣma's father Çāntanu or grand-father Pratīpa; yet the Hari-vaṁça also

throws him five generations back by making her the fourth ancestress of Brahma-datta, king of Kāmpilya, who was Pratīpa's contemporary (xviii. 967–81; and xx. 1047); and again places him midway between these two periods by the genealogy which it gives of his descendants (xxxii. 1804–10).

The kingdom which Vasu founded was a powerful one. He annexed the neighbouring territories, chiefly to the east, and placed his five sons who were called the Vāsava kings there. They established separate dynasties, of which only two however are clearly mentioned, *viz.*, Vṛhadratha ruled over Magadha, with Aṇga seemingly as an appanage, and Kuça (or Kuçamba) Maṇi-vāhana reigned presumably in Kauçāmba (Ādi-p., lxiii. 2362–5; and Hari-v., cxvii. 6598). Which son succeeded him in Cēdi is not stated, nor where the two other sons reigned; but it is highly probable that Karūṣa was the territory ruled by one of them, for its position midway between Cēdi and Magadha would have necessitated its conquest before Magadha, and the strong friendship between the kings of the three countries (Sabhā-p., xiii. 571–5; and xlvii. 1570) and the alliances by marriage (Hari-v., xxxv. 1927, and 1930–2) indicate a close connexion between these dynasties. I may note here that the king Vasu mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi-k., xxxv. 1–9, appears to be quite a different monarch, and prior in time to Vasu Upari-cara.

The next king of Cēdi mentioned after Vasu was Dama-ghōṣa, who was probably fourth or fifth in descent from him. He married Kṛṣṇa's aunt, and his son was Çiçu-pāla, the famous king of Cēdi, whom Kṛṣṇa slew (Hari-v., xxxv. 1927–31; xcv. 5256; and cxvii. 6599–6609). Çiçu-pāla was also called Su-nītha (Hari-v., cviii. 6029; cxvii. 6594–6608). Çiçu-pāla's son and successor was Dhṛṣṭa-kētu (Udyoga-p., clxx. 5900) who joined the Pāṇḍavas in the great war and was killed there. He was succeeded in the throne by his younger brother Çarabha (Āçvamēdh.-p., lxxxiii. 2468-9), and with him the curtain falls on the stories of those stirring old times.

I do not find any indications, as Cunningham alleges, that several different persons are mentioned as being kings of Cēdi at the same time. Allusions are made to other kings of Cēdi besides those whom I have just noticed, but they refer to earlier monarchs who belonged to times prior to Vasu Upari-cara. For instance, the king of Daçārṇa had two daughters, one of whom married Vīra-bāhu king of Cēdi, and the other Bhīma king of Vidarbha; and the latter's daughter was Damayantī who married king Nala (Vana-p., lxix. 2707-8). Vīra-bāhu appears to be the same king who is called Su-bāhu Satya-darçin (*id.*, lxv. 2576). Nala's story however belongs to times long prior to the Pāṇḍavas: this is plain from the way in which the story is told, his down-

fall being a well-known example (see *id.*, xiii. 601); and he is made a contemporary of Ṛtu-parṇa or Ṛta-parṇa king of Ayōdhyā, who is placed about 34 generations above the Pāṇḍavas' time in the genealogy in the Hari-vaṁça (xv. 814-30); and Damayantī's father Bhīma is placed about 25 generations prior to that era in the same book (xxxvii. 1989–xxxviii). This allusion to Cēdi bears out the remarks made in the third previous paragraph that Cēdi was a flourishing land before Vasu's time, and that he must have entered it by conquest. I am not aware of any passage in the Mahā-bhārata which connects Maṇi-pūra and king Citra-vāhana father of Citrāṅgadā with Cēdi or Chattīsgaṛh; rather, it is strongly suggested that Maṇi-pūra was on the eastern sea-coast south of Kaliṅga (Ādi-p., ccxv. 7823-4).

Note.—Since writing the above I have found some genealogical information regarding the Cēdi kings in the Matsya Purāṇa. Cēdi is derived from an eponymous king Cidi, grandson of Vidarbha, who it is said founded the kingdom of Vidarbha, and great grandson of Jyāmagha who conquered and reigned over the country along the Narmadā and the Ṛkṣa Mts. (xliv. 28–38). These kings were descended from Krōṣṭu, son of Yadu, while the Haihayas were the descendants of Haihaya, grandson of Yadu's son Sahasra-jī (xliii. 4–7; and xliv. 14).

The 50th canto contains the genealogy of Vasu Upari-cara. He is said to be fourth in descent from king Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa, of the Paurava race (20–26), and is placed 14 reigns anterior to the Paṇḍavas (20–23, and 34–50) and is made the ninth ancestor of their contemporary Jarāsandha (26–32).

These statements indicate that the kingdom of Cēdi was founded as an offshoot from the south by the Yādavas of Vidarbha; and after it had lasted through some 20 or 25 reigns, Vasu Upari-cara, the Paurava-kaurava, from the north invaded and conquered the country and established his own dynasty in it.

Description of Lhāsa Cathedral, translated from the Tibetan—By L. A. Waddell, LL.D.

(With Plate XXVI).

[Read August 1895].

No detailed description of the great temple or cathedral of Lhāsa, the jealously guarded St. Peter's of Lāmadom, seems to be on record. The only extant accounts of it appear to be the rather brief notices in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*,[1] in the Chinese histories, which have been translated by Klaproth[2] and Rockhill,[3] in the Abbé Huc's narrative, and the few general references to it scattered through the reports of the Indian Survey spies.

The descriptive account now given, is found in the official guide-book to the cathedral, a booklet of forty-six pages printed at Lhāsa and entitled 'The Crystal Mirrored Catalogue of the transformed Lhā-*ldan* (Lhāsa.)'[4] This book is a recension of a much larger one in three sections, which respectively describe the three great temples of Lhāsa, Sam-yas and Ra-mo-ch'e.

As, however, its author is the crafty prelate, the 1st *Dalai* Lāma (A.D. 1615–1680) who took such liberties with Tibetan tradition,[5] twisting it to suit his schemes and mixing with it so much of the lying

[1] p. 406 *et seq.*; Rome, 1762. He gives a ground-plan of the chief building.

[2] Notice sur H'Lassa capitale du Tibet, in the *Nouv. Annales des Voyages* IIe series t. XIV. p. 257–275.

[3] *Tibet, a geographical, ethnological and historical sketch derived from Chinese sources. J.R.A.S.* 1891. pp. 8, 70–76, 263 *et seq.*

[4] The title is given in bilingual form, in corrupt Sanskrit and modern Tibetan thus:—

དེཝཨཱ་ནཱིརྨི་ཤཱ་སྱ་ཝི་ཧཱ་ར་ བཪྞ་ཏྱ་སྦ་ཊེ་ཀཻཿ ཤུ་ཀླེ་བྷི་ར་དཪྴ་ཝི་ཧ་ར་ཏི་ཤྨ།།

Devamānirmasya vihāra warṇadyasbaṭekai shuklebhira darsha viharatisma.

ལྷ་ལྡན་སྤྲུལ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁ་ཡིས་དཀར་ཆག་སེལ་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་བཟུགས།།

Lha-*ldan* sprul-pai gtsug-lag-k'ay gi dkar-ch'ag s'el-dkar me-loy-bzugs.

[5] See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 39, &c.

gabble of the priests, this record therefore cannot be considered to be true history in respect to the earlier periods. Thus his frequent statements that such and such an image 'was made or existed in the time of King Sroŋ-tsan Gam-po (7th century A.D.)' must always be taken for what they are worth. As, however, the book is the official guide to the buildings and their contents, it may be considered fairly authentic and trustworthy in regard to the events which are alleged to have happened since say, about the 15th century A.D.

It contains interesting accounts of the chief images, frescoes and other works of art[1] in this celebrated, though little known fane; which is deemed the centre of Tibet: to which all roads run, and from which all distances are calculated. Our account also mentions the principal benefactors of the building, some of whom are of historic interest. And, while it shows what a thorough paced idolatry Lāmaism really is, it also shows how remarkably catholic is the form of Lāmaism represented in this metropolitan temple. For although it is in the hands of the Gelug-pa, the now dominant sect, which retains the temporal government in its hands, and which openly despises and almost persecutes the other less fortunate sects; still this temple contains the images and deities of every one of the many sects of Lāmaism, and it gives a very prominent place to images of Padma-saṁbhava, who I believe, was the founder of Lāmaism,[2] but whom the Gelug-pas now endeavour to ignore altogether. Such unorthodox images appear to have been already in possession of the temple upon the accession of the Gelug-pas to supreme power in the 17th century; but the latter seem to have endeavoured to swamp them as far as possible, by numerous later additions, restricted to saints and canonized monks of their own particular sect.

Though the present account describes the condition of the temple shortly after the building had passed into the hands of the Gelug-pas, it is still fairly well descriptive of its present-day state, as almost all the images retain their original positions, and the additions have been almost exclusively those of Gelug-pa saints and the special tutelaries of that sect. Such additions I intend to indicate briefly in a supplementary article, hereafter.

The general appearance of the cathedral of Lhāsa has been described by me elsewhere[3] from the existing literature on the subject,

[1] There is also (says the Chinese account translated by Rockhill *loc. cit.*, p. 283) "a collection of antique arms, two-edged swords five or six *ch'ih* long, fowling pieces from eight or nine *ch'ih* to a *ch'ang* long resembling the chin-tzii cannon of the present day, great bows and long arrows. They are all strange-looking objects."

[2] *Buddh. of Tibet*, pp. 24–33, 378–382, 519, 531, &c.

[3] *Buddh. of Tibet*, pp. 300 *et seq.*

with the exception of Mr. Rockhill's notes[1] which I am sorry to say had escaped my notice. The attached illustration from a native drawing gives some idea of its appearance.[2] The chapels and other buildings[3] which compose the temple do not appear to form a pile of grand architectural proportions, but rather a cluster of squat buildings, resplendent in green and gold with glittering gilded roofs.[4] They cover a very large area of ground, about a quarter of a square mile it is said, and the surrounding circular road is at all times daily circumambulated by hundreds of pilgrims and residents, many of whom do this devotional duty in penitential fashion, by measuring their lengths on the ground, as shown in the attached picture.

The frescoes and images seem to be more of mythological than artistic interest, and the decorations appear to be almost barbaric in their splendour, with their wealth of gold and precious stones and rich silk embroidery and brocades, the votive offerings which have been lavished on this central shrine by pious kings and other devotees for over twelve centuries.

The most intrinsically precious images, those made of solid gold, of which there are many hundreds, and those containing the most precious stones, are safeguarded in a strong chapel the doors and windows of which are protected by heavy iron gratings ('Chag-ṭa'[5]) through which the ordinary pilgrims and visitors can only peer, except on a certain annual festival, when the building is thrown open to the public.

The name Lha-sa[6] or 'the place of the gods,' is the vulgar name for the temple, and is properly restricted to denote the temple itself, and not the city so-called. The original book-name of the temple seems to have been Ra-sa,[7] or 'the enclosed or fenced spot,' which name is

[1] *loc. cit.*, containing important precise information, culled by Mr. Rockhill, from trustworthy Chinese sources.

[2] It may be compared with that illustration from Chinese sources given by Mr. Rockhill, in his article referred to (p. 70). Several Lāmas and others to whom I have shown both illustrations state that my picture gives the better representation of the building.

[3] Part of it is also used as a state-treasury. Mr. Rockhill writing from Chinese sources of information says, 'the annual revenue in money amounting to probably 127,000 ounces of silver, all the produce and monies received as taxes are stored away in the Jo-k'ang (the Lhāsa Cathedral) and are under the care of three Sha-dso-pa (*i.e.*, Treasurers). *loc cit.*, p. 8.

[4] The Chinese account translated by Rockhill (*loc. cit.*, p. 263), says "around the central court-yard there have been erected brick pavilions several stories high and pillared halls, the tiled roofs of which are ornamented with gold."

[5] ལྕགས་ཁྲ། *lC'ags-k'ra.* [6] ལྷ་ས། [7] རྟ་ས།

still preserved in the official designation of the cathedral;[1] but the ordinary book-name is 'Lha-*ldan*,'[2] or 'the godly possession;' and this is the name by which it is referred to throughout this booklet.

This book begins with an invocation in corrupt Sanskrit, in *Kuṭila* characters, followed by a Tibetan translation, both of which I have omitted. The text is written in very difficult Tibetan verse, of which each set of eight stanzas is followed by a paraphrase in ordinary prose. It is this latter version which is here translated.

In transliterating Tibetan words into Roman characters, I have followed Jæschke's modification of Csoma's method as closely as the use of ordinary diacritical marks permits. The silent consonants are placed in italics as in Csoma's plan. And the names of deities and other personages and things which I have translated into their more familiar Sanskrit equivalents, have been printed in italics.

"The great loving son of *Çuddhōdana*[3] (*i.e.*, Prince Çākya Siṁha) the commiserating Lord, in order to lead all the countless living beings, without distinction, to the glorious path of happiness, has founded the precious Doctrine for the benefit of the gods and the whole host of living beings. The high ranked[4] *Maitrēya*, the religious protector who causes the doctrine to prosper freely, desiring to place it in charge of a king, devised plans for introducing the Teacher's Doctrine into the kingdom of snowy Bod (Tibet).

"(Thus) the sublime triad of Lords,[5] subdued the rude people of this barren country (of Tibet), and turned their attention to the *Jina's* religion, so as to cause it to prosper abundantly. During the reigns of the kings between the noble of *g*Ña-K'r'i-*b*tsan-po down to Lha-t'o-t'o-ri, namely *g*Nam-gyi-k'ri-*b*dun, *s*Tod-kyi-*s*teṅ-*g*ñis, Bar-du-legs-*drug*s and 'Og-gi-*b*tsan-*g*sum, there was scarcely any religious administration of justice at all. Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-*g*ñan-*b*tsan founded the beginnings of religion, and after five generations the great religious

[1] རས་འཕྲུལ་སྣང་། Ra-sa 'p'rul-snaṅ. [2] ལྷ་ལྡན།

[3] ཟས་གཙང་སྲས། Zas-*g*tsaṅ-sras.

[4] སར་ཆེན་པོ། Sa-ch'en-po. This term is also used to denote a high stage, the eighth, of the 10 grades of Bodhisats (*Daça-bhāmi*) Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dict.*, p. 569.

[5] འཕགས་པ་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ། 'P'ags-pa rig*s*-*g*sum *m*gon-po. These are the three metaphysical Bodhisats who are adopted as the *defensores fidei* of Lāmaism, namely, Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāṇi and Avalōkita.

king, the incarnation of *Padmapāṇi*[1] Sroṇ-*b*tsan-*s*gam-po, obtained the lotus-throne.

"His (Sroṇ-*b*tsan-*s*gam-po's) fame as an ardent devotee of Buddha spread far and wide throughout the world.[2] On this account the great kings of China, India and Persia and also 'Ge-sar' (=? the Kaisar or Czar)[3] paid him humble reverence and tribute. He sent to India his pious minister *m*T'on-mi-sam-bho-ta, who there studied the Sanskrit language and framed the necessary thirty-four 'Tibetan' characters upon the model of the Indian ones. The laws were based upon 'the ten precepts' and they were rigorously enforced on all the subjects, high and low, like a heavy golden yoke hung upon the neck. The monk Vikrama-saṁbhava-mati (?)[4] was sent (to India) to invite the two kinds of self-sprung[5] tutelary-gods.

"By means of magical insight[6] and the mystical powers of esoteric and exoteric *mantras*, and the wise acts of his minister *m*Gar, he (the king Sroṇ-*b*tsan-gam-po) humbled the proud kings of China and Nepal (and forced them to give him their daughters in marriage). His two consorts, who were incarnations of Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi brought as their respective dowries, the image of the omniscient one of the *Ikṣvāku*[7] and other wonderful images which imparted great blessings, also rich presents of wealth which exceeded the whole treasury of the lord of the Nāgas.

"During that period the mighty kingdom of Tibet overflowed with religion and riches like a river in summer flood. Within its glacial walls, the following hills (surrounding Lhāsa) appear like the eight spokes of the heavenly-wheel,[8] and the eight petals of an earthly

[1] He is here given the title of ཕྱག་ན་པདྨའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་འགྲུལ་འདྲ་བའི་རལ་གར་མཚན་ཆོས་ས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་པོ། 'P'yag-na pad-mai ye-s'es-kyi sgya-'grul 'dra pai ral-gar *m*k'an-ch'os sa-kyoṇ rgyal-po.

[2] *Jambudvīpa.*

[3] This is a somewhat mythical king of northern Asia, but probably is founded on the great white Czar.

[4] སྐྱོ་ཆོས་འཕྲུང་ནམས་ཆོག་ཟིམས། He seems to be a mythical person.

[5] ཧྲིཁས་མཆས་ཀྱི་འཕྲུལ།

[6] Details of this legend are to be found in the Mani-*b*kah-'bum and in the *Royal Chronicle.*—rGyal-rab sel-baī me-loṇ.

[7] བུ་རམ་ཤིང་པ། Bu-ram s'iṇ-pa, literally 'of the sugar-cane,' the title of the founder of the Solar race, to which the Çākya tribe belongs. cf. Jæschke's *Dict.*, p. 369.

[8] ནམ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྩིབ་བརྒྱད། *g*Nam 'k'or-lo rtsib *b*rgyad.

lotus-flower.[1] The hill Byaŋ-ñaŋ-bran-pal-po with the (divine) umbrella on its head, the hill Mal-groŋ with the (lucky) fish in its eye, the hill Bol-mar-dog-*lte* or the Rag rock, the *m*Dor-*mk*'ar-gyi-*brag* with the (lucky) lotus in its tongue, the Ñaṅ-*bran*-'p'an-*dkar* (hill) with the (lucky) conch-shell in its breast, the pass of La-*grib*-kyi-'k'yags-pa-*dkar*-ch'uŋ also called *r*Dsoŋ-*btsan* hill with the (lucky) vase in its neck, the hill Yug-ma with the (lucky) diagram 'Śrī-beu,'[2] in its breast, in the north-east the hill *r*Mog-*lco*'g-*brag* formerly called 'K'ol-mar-*gdugs* with the (lucky) banner in its trunk, and the hill *s*Tod-luŋ-*braŋ*-p'u with the (lucky) wheel at its foot.

"In the centre of this wondrous land, and encircled in this way by 'the eight glorious signs,'[3] lies the palace of the king of the Çākyas—(Lhāsa), the *vihāra*[4] of Ra-sa-'p'rul-*snaŋ*[5]—which was founded solely for the happiness and the guidance of all the animal beings, and for enlightening their gloomy path, even as the light of the sun and moon dissipates the foggy mist.

"In order to found the school or *vihāra* on a lucky site, the Nepalese queen (of King Sroŋ-*btsan*) sent a maid to his Chinese queen (who was skilled in astrology) requesting her to ascertain by careful computation, a lucky site for the erection of the school. The Chinese queen gave the necessary information, calculated according to the Chinese reckoning of 'the 80-Spor-t'aŋ'—[6]; but the maid seems to have forgotten the proper reply. So attempts were made to fill up the lake (of Ra-sa or 'O-t'aŋ,' the site of the present cathedral of Lhāsa), but they proved unsuccessful (owing to the machinations of devils). The envious Chinese queen, without permission of the king, laid the foundation (of a temple or school) at La-*gdoŋ*-neu-t'aŋ which however the spirits[7] destroyed utterly during the night.

"Then the king, with his wife *Bhṛkuṭi*, went to the further side of the lake O-t'aŋ,[8] and he threw up skywards a ring which descended

[1] ས་པདྨ་འདབ་བརྒྱད། | Sa pad-ma 'dab-*brgyad*.

[2] དཔལ་བེའུ | the so-called 'Buddha's intestines,' see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 393 and 394.

[3] Skt. *Aṣṭamaṅgala*. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, pp. 392 *et seq.*

[4] གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ | *g*Tsug-lag k'aŋ; a school or academy, also a *Vihāra*, conf. Jæschke's *Dict.*, p. 433.

[5] ར་ས་འཕྲུལ་སྣང་། Ra-sa p'rul-*snaŋ*.

[6] སྤོར་ཐང་བརྒྱད་རྩ། *s*Por-t'aŋ *brgyad*-c'u.

[7] མི་མ་ཡིན། Mi-ma-yin = 'not men.' (Skt. *Amanusha*).

[8] ཨོ་ཐང་།

exactly in the middle of the lake, whence a *caitya* of many colors sprung up. This (miracle) was witnessed by the chief ministers. By the solemn prayers of the king, combined with the stones thrown into the lake by the energetic ministers and people, a firm slender stone *caitya* was formed, which was supported on pillars, and the lake was filled up successfully without further difficulty. [And on this lacustrine site the temple of Lhāsa was built].[1]

"But for want of the precautions pointed out by the Chinese queen, the demons destroyed the building. So that when the king heard of the astrological account of the Chinese princess by which the building could be preserved he was overjoyed, and he then with the aid of his two queen-consorts built a nine-storeyed house of solid masonry at *s*Kyid-s'ad-ñaŋ-bran-p'a'-boŋ;[2] and they remained there for a week coercing 'the three Lords,'[3] who appeared unto them in a vision and blessed them.

"Then he (king Sroŋ-*b*tsan-gam-po), erected four schools[4] at each of (the sites of) *m*T'ah-'dul, Yaŋ-'dul, and Ru-*g*non, after making a careful survey of all the unlucky features of those lands. He also founded the school of (Lhāsa) Rā-sa-p'rul-*s*naŋ, by the help of his incarnations and his Tibetan subjects. Then followed the erection of the school of Ra-mo-ch'e.

"(In the temple of Lhāsa or 'Rasa') there is a side painting of the five *Jinas*[5] consecrated by the rice[6] of the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) himself, as a symbol of the (mystic) Body[7]; and the six-syllabled prayer (i.e.,

[1] A popular tradition is still current that there is a lake under the temple of Lhāsa, and that an opening underneath the great image of the Lord (*Jo-wo*) in the central shrine, communicates with this lake. The story is probably related to the indigenous *Nāga* or dragon-worship of the country. Mr. Rockhill (*loc. cit.*, p. 70) notes a legend to the effect that this lake was confined to its present bed by Padmasaṁbhava after which only did it become possible to build over it—though this would place the erection of the temple over a hundred years after Sroŋ-*b*tsan *s*gam-po's reign. 'Every year,' says, Mr. Rockhill 'in the second month precious offerings are thrown down the hole in the Jo-k'ang out of which comes a great noise of wind. If this were not done, the waters or rather the Lu-jyal-po (*Nāgarāja*) would cause the waters to rise up and engulph the city.' On this legend conf. Huc's *Souvenirs d'un voyage*, II, p. 193.

[2] The building to which this legend attaches still exists close to the north of Ramo-che on the northern outskirts of Lhāsa.

[3] Rigs-*g*sum *m*gon-po. See before.

[4] *g*Tsug-lag k'aŋ.

[5] རྒྱལ་བ་རིགས་ལྔ། | *r*Gyal-wa rigs *l*ŋa; the five Celestial Buddhas or 'the *Dhyāni* Buddhas of the Nepalese'—See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 336, 346, &c.

[6] Sacred objects are consecrated by throwing rice at them during a celebration.

[7] སྐུ་ *s*Ku literally 'the body.' This together with the next two categories namely *g*Suŋ (speech) and T'ugs (mind) denote the three mystic elements of the *Vajrayāna* creed. Cf. my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 147.

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Om-ma-ṇi-pad-me-hūṁ) of "the Great Pitying One" (Avalōkita), as a symbol of (mystic) Speech; and as a symbol of the Mind, a *caitya* made by Sā-*s*kya Paṇḍita, enshrining small images of the king.

"(The following images were) made by the *yogi* *g*Z'is-ka, namely the great translator Rin-ch'en-*b*zaŋ-po, *r*Gyal-*m*ts'an-*d*pal-*b*zaŋ [1] of *s*Bah-ra-*d*Pal-p'ag-mo-gru-pa-*r*do-rje-*r*gyal-po,[2] Seŋ-ge-*r*gyal-*m*ts'an[3] of *m*Nah-ri*s*, Saŋs-*r*gyas-*d*pal-*b*zaŋ of Gyab-p'ug, the reverend Mi-la-ras-pa, 'Gro-waī-*m*gon-po of the Z'aŋ family of *g*Yu-brag, and Z'ig-pa-*b*dud-*r*tsi now called Mahākāla.

"Above these images is the Muni [4] (Çākya), and a little below is *m*Dol-ch'uŋ-*d*Kor-*d*pon.

"Over the door of the northern *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) [5] are images of the omniscient (Grand-Lāma) *b*Sod-nam*s*-*r*gya-*m*ts'o and 'the three (divine) Lords' made by the chief *bk*Ra-s'i*s*-rab-*br*tan of *s*Kyod-s'od.

"The image of the eleven-headed 'Great Pitying One' (*Mahākaruṇa*)[6] was thus obtained: In order to avert impediments to the building of the school, prayers were offered to the tutelary, and in reply a voice was heard saying that if an image of *Mahākaruṇa* were made about the size of the king's own body all desires would be fully realized. So the king procured a branch of the *bōdhi*-tree, the fragrant *birana*-grass of the island, sand of the river 'Nairañja,'[7] pieces of *sandal*-wood called the 'dragon's heart,'[8] and *gos'irs'a* and earth from the eight holy places.[9] These ingredients being mixed with many other holy substances, and washed with the milk of a red cow and a white she-goat were placed beneath his pillow while he prayed to Buddha and his disciples of the ten directions. Then he saw that innumerable gods, wild and fierce entered into the heap and disappeared. And next morning he found that the materials had become changed into an image of 'the eleven-headed Great Pitying One.'

"Then he addressed the artist saying, "It is indeed marvellous that this image has been made so suddenly, but I had wished to put into it relics of 'the seven Buddhas' and the self-sprung *sandal*-wood image which was brought from India." The artist replied, "This image has

[1] A Lāma of the Kar-gyu-pa sect.
[2] Also a Lāma of the Kar-gyu-pa sect.
[3] A Lāma of the Ka-dam-pa sect.
[4] ཐུབ་པ། T'ub-pa.
[5] གཙང་ཁང་། *g*Tsaŋ-k'aŋ.
[6] ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ། T'ug*s*-*r*je ch'en-po.
[7] The 'Līlājan' at Budh-Gaya.
[8] སྦྲུལ་སྙིང་། *s*Brul-*s*ñiŋ.
[9] Apparently the sites of the eight great stupas which were built over Buddha's relics.

not been made by me. It is self-sprung." And no sooner had this conversation ceased than the under-vest of the image was seen to be folded up to the thigh and rays of light darted out from the soles of the feet and attracted the (sandal-) image and the relics which were thus taken up and disappeared by absorption into its breast.

"Afterwards, when the gods and *rakshasas* gathered at the foot of the poison-tree at the western 'Moon-grove' [1] and intrigued to injure the devotees of the (new) religion, the (image of) *Mahākaruṇa* smiled, and two rays of light darted out from his mouth. One of these became the fierce fiend *b*Dud-*r*tsi-'kyil-pa who seized the abode of the wicked demons and sanctified it by surrounding it with *vajra*-thunderbolts and the other became (the fiend) *Hayagrīva* [2] who drove the gods and *rakshasas* to the other side of the ocean.[3] Then the self-sprung image of the *Arya* (*Mahākaruṇa*) and the images of the king and his two consorts disappeared by absorption into that of *Hayagrīva*, hence the image is called 'the self-sprung pentad.'[4]

"The retinue of this image, which were made during the lifetime of the king (Sroṇ-*b*tsan) are, on the right, *Lōkēçvara*,[5] *Bhṛkuṭi*, *Sarasvatī*,[6] and *b*Dud-*r*tsi-'kyil-pa; and on the left, Khasarpāṇi, *Tārā*, *Marīcī*,[7] and *Hayagrīva*. Amongst these '*b*Dud-*r*tsi-'kyil-pa and *Hayagrīva* are very important and impart great blessing, as they routed the evil spirits who impeded the building of the *vihāra*. The *siddhi* *d*Nos-grub and the ruler Ñaṇ-ñi-ma-'od-zer took out *Mahākaruṇa's* prayer-wheel,[8] from beneath the right leg of *Hayagrīva*, which latter on that account has become slightly bent. On the right of *Hayagrīva* is *Mañjughōṣa*, and on the left *Vajrapāṇi* made by Ch'al-pa-k'ri-*d*pon. But the (foregoing) set of nine images, came to this northern *Gandhakūṭa* (chapel) from (the Indian) Potala of their own accord.

[1] ཟླ་བ་རྩྭལ། *z*La-ba ts'al. [2] རྟ་མགྲིན། *r*Ta-mgrin.

[3] This reference to the ocean is interesting in connection with the Brahmanical myth of Hayagrīva, which makes Hayagrīva a demon of the ocean. Cf. Dowson's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 36.

[4] རབ་བྱོན་ལྔ་ལྡན། Raṇ-*b*yon *l*ṇa-*l*dan.

[5] འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག *d*bAṇ-p'yug. 'Jig-*r*ten A form of Avalōkita as an earthly prince. Most of the images of deities, demons and saints referred to in this account are described in some detail in my *Buddhism of Tibet*.

[6] དཔྱངས་ཅན་མ། *dby*Aṇs c'an-ma.

[7] འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ། 'Od-zer c'an-ma.

[8] ཆོས་སྐོར། Ch'os-skor; it also means 'preaching.'

"As we emerge (from the chapel) these images are placed in the outer court-yard of the *gandhakūṭa*, namely the revelation-finder[1] King T'aŋ-stoŋ,[2] made by himself, the holy Buddha, the *siddhi* Birwapa,[3] and the great Kāçmīrī *Paṇḍit* Çākyaçrī.

"Above the door of the building sit the Buddhas of the three periods.

"The translator Zaŋs-mk'ar,[4] who transmitted the holy religion to this snowy land by translating the Sanskrit books into the Tibetan language, made an image of the reverend lord Maitrēya,[5] from the earth which had been wetted by the stream where the King (Sroŋ *b*stan) and his two consorts used to bathe, and he named it 'the bathed or baptised *Maitrēya*.'[6]

"In the lap of Maitrēya are the sandal-wood image of Mañjuçrī offered by the *m*Go-yod temple and the white *Amitāyus*, the tutelary image of the *Suvarṇadvipa*[7] monk who was the teacher of Atīça,[8] also *Vajrapāṇi*, the four-armed *Avalōkita*, the *Jina* Tsoŋ-k'a-pa, the funeral urn[9] of Legs-paī-s'es-rab (the Lāma of) *d*Kon-*g*ñer-*d*pon who is the author of the Chronicle of the Kings,[10] (and of) *Arya Tārā*, (? and of) the *çlōkas* written for the remission of the sins of the butcher *r*Ma-ru-*r*tse, the funeral urn of *b*Tson-'grus-sñiŋ-po of *m*Nah-ri, and the votive stone-lamp-bowl called 'the glorious shining fire' which belonged to the *Jina* Tsoŋ-K'a-pa.

"There also are the bathing slab of piled-up lotuses,[11] on which the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) and his two wives bathed, the image of the great doctor, the omniscient *Çānta-rakṣita*, and Padma-saṁbhava who knows the (events of the) three times (the present, past and future). These

[1] གཏེར་སྟོན། | *g*Ter-*s*ton. Conf. my *Buddh. of Tibet.*

[2] ཐང་སྟོང་། | This is a Ñiŋ-ma Lāma who is famous as having built several of the still extant iron suspension-bridges across the the Tsaŋ-po and other rivers in Tibet.

[3] An Indian monk before the 11th century, A.D. [4] ཟངས་མཁར། |

[5] རྗེ་བཙུན་བྱམ་མགོན། | *r*Je-*b*tsun byam-*m*gon.

[6] བྱམ་པ་ཁྲུས་མཛད། | *b*Yam-pa k'ru*s*-*m*dsad.

[7] From the Burmese monastery of 'Thaton' (or Chersonesus) near Maulmain.

[8] མནམ་མེད་རྗོ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ། | *m*Nam-med jo-wo ch'en-po.

[9] གདུང་རྟེན། | *g*Duŋ-rten.

[10] རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། | *r*Gyal-rab*s* *g*sal-baī me-loŋ.

[11] ཁྲུས་རྡོ་པདྨ་སྤུངས་པ། | K'ru*s*-rdo padma *s*puŋ*s*-pa. This slab, I am told, is circular in shape and about five feet in diameter.

last three (images) were made by the revelation-finder Padma-*gliṅ*-pa, and the *Jina Bhaiṣajyarāja* [1] made by Ne-ch'aṅ-di-pa.

"Within the iron grating (*l*C'ags-K'ra)[2] are the following images (all of solid gold, it is said), namely:—The precious image of the great religious king Tsoṅ-K'a-pa who is the Lord of the *Jinas* of the three periods. On the left of this image sits the lord Kun-*dga*h-*bk*ra-s'is, Ti-s'ri Mahāyāna (a present) of the Chinese emperor Ta-miṅ-gan, Bu-*ston*-rin-po-ch'e made by La-ch'en-*by*aṅ-ch'ub-*brt*se-mo, *r*Gyal-sra*s*-t'o*g*-med-pa, the noble holy Lāma *b*So*d*-nam*s*-*r*gyal-*m*ts'an who is the most venerable of all the descendents of Sa-*s*kya, Mu-sra*s*-pa *r*do-rje-*r*gyal-*m*ts'an, and *r*Je-druṅ [3] Raṅ-*by*uṅ-*r*do-rje of the Kar-ma sect.

"Also the following images:—The God [4] *Buddha Amitāyus*,[5] who is the chief deity in the temple, *Avalōkita* with his retinue (namely) *Kṣitigarbha*, [6] *Sarvanivāraṇa viṣkambinī*,[7] *Akāçagarbha*,[8] *Samantabhadra*,[9] *Mañjughōṣa*, *Vajrapāṇi*, *and Maitrēya*. These existed from the time of the king (Sroṅ-*b*tsan).

"As we emerge from the temple, there are in the court-yard images of the god, the angry [10] *r*Me-wa-*brt*se*g*s-pa. This fierce deity is specially honoured on account of his having miraculously routed the Chinese army of a million strong who came to invade Tibet and take vengeance on the minister *m*Gar, upon the king's death. Then came the following images in order:—The religious king and his two wives in Chinese fashion, made by Ts'al-pa K'ri-*d*pon, and *Buddha Amōghasiddhi*-[(*?*) *darçana*]; [11]

1 སྨན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། sMan-paī rgyal-po = the medicine king. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 353.

2 See reference in the introduction.

3 རྗེ་དྲུང་། *r*Je-druṅ is a title meaning literally 'near to the noble one (*i.e.*, Buddha).' It is restricted to those Lāmas who are deemed to be re-incarnations of Bodhisats or saints. It is not to be confused with 'T'se-druṅ' which is a title of the immediate servants of the Dalai Lāmas. The word 'T'se,' literally *head* here stands for the Dalai Lāma and 'druṅ' = near. The corresponding personal servants of the temporal ruler of Lhāsa, the Tibetan king, are called Z'al-druṅ.

4 ལྷ། lha. All the Buddhas and the chief Bodhisats are called 'gods,' but not so most of the demoniacal protectors (Ch'os-skyoṅ).

5 སངས་རྒྱས་སྣང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས། Saṅ-rgyas snaṅ-ba *m*t'ah-yas. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 350.

6, 7, 8, 9 For these 4 see *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 358.

10 ཁྲོ་བོ། See *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 334.

11 མཆོད་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག། comp. *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 349, &c.

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and on the altar [1] of the Lord is the noble Zan-Yaŋs, [2] a Chinese name, (? who made) the four great kings (of the quarters) and two pillars, and on the door are the Yak-horns with which the reverend Mila (-ras-pa) worked miracles on the plains of Pal-moī-*d*pal-t'aŋ.

"There is an image of the omniscient son of *Çuddhōdana* (*i.e.*, of Prince Siddhārtha, and it is now considered to be the greatest image not only in this temple, to which it gives its common name, namely "Jo-wo K'aŋ" or "the temple of The Lord," [3] but it receives more homage than any other image in Tibet). It is (a representation of the Prince) twelve years of age[4] and was made by the (divine) artist Viçvakarma, from the ten kinds of gems gathered by *Indra*, the king of the gods. This (image) has done a great deal of good to both gods and the animal beings, and especially to those of 'Odi-yāna (Udyāna), known in Tibetan as 'P'ur-'gro, which (word) has now its corners broken into 'U-rgyan.' When this (image) was in the middle country of Magadha[5] it was invited to China and carried there in a ship from India by the lucky power of the Chinese king. Afterwards when Sroŋ-*bt*san-*s*gam-po sent his wise minister *m*Gar to China to invite the Chinese princess 'Kong-cho;' and the Chinese were unwilling to give her to the Tibetans, *m*Gar after much difficulty at last obtained her, while she, also unwilling to go, was only persuaded by *m*Gar singing the praises of the king of Tibet, [here omitted]: but she besought her father saying: "O father! pray give me your tutelary god, Çākya Muni." Her father gave it to her, and it was brought to Tibet. It was kept in Rā-mo-ch'e (temple), till the reign of King Maŋi-sroŋ-maŋ-*bt*san, when there was a war between

1 སྤང་ལྕོག། *s*Paŋ-*l*chog.

2 དཔལ་ཟན་ཡངས། This is the Chinese title of a Tibetan who made the images named above; this is not intended for Hiuen Tsiang the famous Chinese pilgrim and geographer, whose image appears to have been added subsequently to the date of the record here translated. Hiuen Tsiang, as noted by Rockhill (*loc. cit.*, p. 282), is known to the Tibetans as T'aŋ-Tseŋ Lāma (ཐང་ཙེང་སྒྲ་མ)། or "The Lāma Tseŋ of the T'ang period. And his image is now in the Lhāsa Cathedral." "On the front of the wall of the verandah (? of the Jowo-k'aŋ) is painted the master Yüan-chuang (= Hiuen Tsiang) of the T'ang period and three of his disciples searching from the sacred books."—Rockhill's translations from the Chinese, *loc. cit.*, p. 263. Cf. also Koppen, (*Die Lamaische Hier.*, p. 337 following Klaproth).

3 The image is called Jo-wo Rin-po-ch'e or 'The precious Lord.'

4 It is said to be about four and a half feet high—that is to say the natural size, for a boy of his alleged age.

5 དབུས་འགྱུར་མ་ག་དྷ། *db*Us-'gyuṛ ma-ga-dha.' But the Chinese history (Rockhill, *loc. cit.*, p. 263), says "it is said that it was cast by a Chinese from Tso-lang."

the Chinese and Tibetans during which it was removed (for greater safety) into the Lho-*s*gom-loŋ-c'an (temple) and the door (of its shrine) was plastered with clay and (the name) *Mañju-çrī* written on it (in order to mislead the Chinese). Then after two generations, the Chinese princess who was brought as the spouse of 'Jaŋ-ts'a-lha-*d*bon went to Ra-mo-ch'e, but having missed seeing (the image of) Çākya Muni there, she fetched it from Lho-*s*go-me-loŋ-c'an, and placed it in the middle of the *gandhakuṭa* chapel.

"On the left of this image is *Maitrēya* and on the right *Mañjughōṣa* made of bell-metal. Behind it is *Buddha Dīpaŋkara*, and the god 'Od-zer-'p'o-ba, now called Mi-'gro-*g*suŋ-byon. Behind these is the image of *Muni* Gaŋs-che'n-'tso-rgyal[2] made by the translator Zaŋs-*d*kar. On the right of this are twelve *Sattvas*, and on the left are twelve female *Sattvās*. There also are the angry fiend Kaŋ-kiŋ, *Maitrēya*, and *Mañjughōṣa* made by *g*Lin-p'yag-*d*rug-*d*bon-po, the *Jina* Tsoŋ-k'a-pa, the funeral urn of *s*Kor-*d*pon *Bodhisattva*, the big stone 'Amo-laŋ-k'a'[3] taken by the *Jina* Tsoŋ-k'a-pa from the bank of a river, also the bells which Mo-hu-gal (Maudgalyāyana) caused his mother to ring and to repeat the *Maṇi* (formula) at Dril-*g*daŋ.[4]

"In the outer courtyard of the *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) are the following images: Munīndra,[5] the great divine lord Dīpaŋkara Çrī-jñāna,[6] the religious king 'Brom-*s*ton, the translator Nag-ts'o, *Arya Tārā*, who is also called 'the scarf-taking *Tārā*,' on account of her having asked the 'P'ags-pa Rin-po-ch'e[7] for the votive scarf which he was carrying, and the image of the *Bodhisattva* *s*Kor-*d*pon.

"Within the *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) is the image of the reverend master Mi-p'an-*m*gon-po, of red bell-metal made by the religious king Kri-kri who was the dispenser of gifts to the Indian Ts'e-lo-ñi-k'ri-pa. The retinue of this image comprises *Tārā* as 'the defender from the eight Fears,[8]' and *Avalōkita* sems-ñid-ŋal-gso which existed during the time of the religious king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan).

1 ཞི། Li.

2 'The Victorious Ocean of Snow.'

3 It is believed by Lāmas to be a jewel; probably it is the *Amalaka* (fruit-shaped) pinnacle of a temple.

4 དྲིལ་བདབ། Dril-ba = Skt. *Utpadana* or *Utsadanam*. This incident probably refers to Maudgalyāyana's miraculous descent to the *Prēta* purgatory to relieve his mother. Conf. *Buddh of Tibet*, p. 98.

5 ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོ། T'ub-pai *d*baŋ-po.

6 The religious name of the Indian monk Atīça.

7 Sa-*s*kya Grand Lāma.

8 See my art. on The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalōkita and Tārā, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 89.

"At the sides of the door are the images of *Brahmā* and *Sakra*[1] which were votive offerings at the founding of the *vihāra* of 'Od-'ch'aṇ-rdo-*d*pe-med-*bk*ra-s'i*s*-*d*ge-'p'el by the governor[3] K'ri-ral, who was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi.

"In the outer courtyard are also, the *Jina Amitāyus*, Dol-so-pa of Jo-naṇ,[5] the four-armed *Avalōkita*, *Padma-saṁbhava* who knows the three periods, and the religious king K'ri-sroṇ-*l*de-*b*tsan.

"The side figures[4] *Buddha Bhaiṣajyarāja*, the god 'Od-zer-'p'ros-pa, a row of the Buddhas of the three times,[5] the great *paṇḍit* Bo-doṇ-P'yog*s*-las-*r*nam-*r*gyal, *s*Tag-luṇ-ṇag-*d*baṇ-*g*rag*s*-pa, the king (Sroṇ-*b*tsan) with his two wives made by T'sal-pa k'ri-*d*pon, the princess[6] Mon-*b*zah-k'ri, prince Guṇ-ri-guṇ-*b*tsan, the ministers T'on-mi, *m*Gar and *s*N*a*-ch'en-po.

"Within the *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) are the following images: the four brothers Maitrēya[7] made by the disciple[8] K'a-ch'e Utpal from the silver extracted from the heart of (the god) Jambhala of the temple of *r*Me-ru,[9] (which image had been made) by Paṇḍita Ts'ub-k'rim*s* in the time of king gLaṇ-dar, the tutelary representation of Mañ-jughōṣa of king *Aṁçuvarman*[10], K'asar-pāṇi made by *k*Lu-me*s* and invited from the Grub-*m*ṭ*h*al temple, grain consecrated[11] by the eleven faced (Avalōkita, who lived in India during the time of) *Kaçyapa Buddha*, *Vajra Sattva*, *s*Toṇ-ch'en-rab-'byams, So-sor-'braṇ-ma, *Yama* *m*t'ar-*b*yed, Padma-*m*t'ar-*b*yed, *b*Geg*s*-*m*t'ar-*b*yed, the seven yellow and black (forms of) Jambhala[12] which existed during the time of the religious queen Ra-ma-*r*gya-mo, and consecrated food of Lha-*r*je-*d*ge-ba-'bum.

1 རྒྱ་བྱིན། | *r*Gya-*b*yin.

2 མཆའ་བདག | *m*Nah-*b*dag.

3 This is the monastery of Tāranātha's sub-sect of the Sa-skya sect. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 70.

4 ཕྱག་རིས། | *l*Dabs-ri*s*.

5 དུས་གསུམ། Dus-*g*sum.

6 ལྕམ། *l*C'am.

7 ཇམ་པ་མཆེད་བཞི། *b*Yam-pa *m*ch'e*d* *b*z'i.

ཉེ་གནས། Ñe-*g*nas.

9 A temple on the outskirts of Lhāsa town to the N.-W. of the cathedral.

10 འོད་རིར་ཀོཙ། or 'Glittering Armour,' name of the father of Sroṇ-*b*tsan-*s*gam-po's Nepalese wife. He reigned about 635–650 A.D. See my *Buddh. of Tibet* p. 20-n.

11 See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 368.

12 ཕྱག་ན་མ། Phyag-na*s*-ma.

"In the outer courtyard of the *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) are in order :— the *caitya* of superposed lotuses containing the image of 'The sublime Gem' (The Sa-*s*kya Grand Lāma),[1] the great *Siddhi* Bi-ru-a-pa, the great Sa(-*s*kya paṇḍit) Kun-*d*gah-sñiṅ-po, the reverend *b*Sod-nam-rtse-mo (*N.B.*, this and all the following Lāmas in this paragraph are of the Sa-*s*kya sects), and the reverend Grags-pa-rgyal-*m*ts'an, in front of which as side figures are *Mañjughōṣa*, the reverend Sa-*s*kya paṇḍita, 'Gro-*m*gon-ch'os-*r*gyal-'pags-pa, *Mañjughōṣa Amōghasiddhadvaja*, the holy Lāma *b*Sod-nam-*r*gyal-*m*'san, and the successors,[2] of the worshipful Sa-*s*kya. Then as side figures are pictures[3] of 'the red palace' (the Grand Dalai Lāma's residence), and 'the iron hill'[4] resembling the city of 'the ten-headed *Raksha* of Laṅ-ka (Ravana), also a picture of a Tibetan festival.

"On the north and south of the Dragon-temple[5] are, Buddha Bhagavān the king of the Nāgas, *Nanda*, *Upanda*, *Yakkha* Nāga Kuvēra, the *Gandharva* (-king) Zur-p'ud-*l*ṅa-pa, Mahākāla and the ten-headed king of the *Rākṣas* of Laṅka. To the north and south of the inner and outer sandal-wood doors are (the friends) Tra-ka-s'ad and P'yag-ro made by Ge-re-bha-pa, sitting on the north is Drel-gz'on, and on the south is *Hayagrīva*. The incarnate S'ākya-'od extracted several *sutras* from beneath the silk robe of the Nāga Kuvēra.[6]

"In the middle *gandhakūṭa* (chapel) of the middle storey[7] in the west is the consecrated food thrown by the king (Sroṅ-*b*tsan) to the seven Buddhas, also (images of) the king and his two wives made by Lāma Duṅ-kar-'brug-*g*rags, prince Guṅ-ri-guṅ-*b*tsan and the *Jina* Tsoṅ-k'a-pa and his two disciples.[8]

On all the doors of the court-yards are images of *Buddhas* and *Bōdhisattvas*, and innumerable *maṇḍalas* containing relics. There especially are the gods Marīcī (?),[9] the white *Tārā* in the north and *Hayagrīva* in the west.

[1] See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, pp. 38 and 241. [2] རྒྱད་བརྒྱད། *g*Duṅ-*br*gyad.

[3] བཀོད་པ། *b*Kod-pa.

[4] ལྷག་པོ་རི། *l*C'ags-pô ri.

[5] ཀླུ་ཁང་། *k*Lu-k'aṅ.

[6] ཤམ་ཐབས། S'am-t'abs.

[7] The *Gandhakūṭa* is in three tiers.

[8] These are *r*Gyal-tsab-rje and *m*K'us-grub rje. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 59.

[9] འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པའི་ལྷ། 'Od-zer 'p'ros-pāi lha = the god of the pouring-forth-rays of light.'

In the middle of the Bed-bar (room)[1] is the picture of *Çrī Dēvī*, of great blessedness, made during the time of the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan). In the north is the *siddhi* room of Lāma Z'aŋ, and in the south is the residence of 'the great Guru' (Padma sambhava).

Under the golden top-ornament of 'the Great Pitying One' (a form of Avalōkita)[2] is 'the *Jina Çākya Muni* (and) the seven Medical Buddhas[3] made by Ts'al-paī-naŋ-*g*ñer-*bk*ra-s'is; (also) *Vaiçravaṇa* the commander of the *sattvas* and the *yakṣas*.

Above the head of 'the great precious Lord' (Jo-wo rin-po-ch'e) and above the eight *sattvas* and the two fiends which formed the retinue of Mi-'*gro*-*g*suŋ,[4] in the time of the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) are the five *Jinas*[5] made by the great master *db*Aŋ-*br*tson.

On the throne of the shaking *Çrī* Dévi[6] is a moulded image of a passionate form of Ye-s'e-sems-*d*pah, done by the incarnate *m*Go-gru-*bz*'i, during the time of Ts'al-pa-k'ri-*d*pon from the picture of *Çrī Dēvī* drawn by the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) with the blood of his nose. On the top of the Sandal-wood door is (written) the true title 'The glorious throne-door.[7]

The (chapel) now called 'The temple of the sixteen *Sthavira*'[8] was built by the great master Gor-lo-ta-i-ha-si-tu-*s*bon-ch'iŋ-*d*ben (*alias* ?) Çrī-*d*ban-p'ug-*br*tson-'grus, when the Çākyas possessed the whole of Tibet and the thirteen surrounding thrones. The interior contained relics and the image of the most perfect Buddha surrounded by the sixteen disciples. Also the (picture of the) palace where the king of Gyaŋ-rtse lives, the picture drawn in the Chuŋ-do castle at Ho-'ten-si in China in the summer recess during the reign of the Chinese king Ta-i-gim by a Sthavira who had been invited by the *Upāsaka* Dharma-tala; the pictures (showing) the invitation of Ye-ŋa-pa-ra by *k*Lu-mes-'brom-ch'uŋ, and the powerful Hwa-s'aŋ sitting in a glorious rock-cavern amid clay idols; the picture (exhibiting) how *Arya Vasubhadra*[9] taught

1 This word in the text is not distinct.

2 See my art. in *J.R.A.S.* for 1894, p. 55.

3 See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 353—Çākya Muni forms the eighth member of this group.

4 This is said to have been a counterfeit image of the great 'Jo-wo' made by the Tibetans in order to send to the Chinese where the latter demanded back their original idol; but on completion the new image spoke and said "Mi-gro" that is 'I won't go,' hence its name, say the Lāmas.

5 The so-called '*Dhyāni Buddhas*' of Nepalese Buddhists, see my *Buddh. of Tibet*, pp. 336 and 346.

6 དཔལ་ལྡན། 7 གཙུག་ཏོར་ཁྲི་སྟེགས། *b*Kra-s'is k'ri-sgo.

8 ནམས་པའི་ལྷ་ཀང་། *g*Nas-b'cu lha-k'aŋ. 9 ནོར་བཟང་། Nor-*b*zaŋ.

the Lāmas about *Mañjuçrīghōṣa* and the Lord *Maitrēya*, and various other pictures mostly derived from the *Sūtras*. These were painted by a Chinese artist. Other pictures are the successors of the noble Sa-*s*kya (Lāma) and the royal descendants of the Mongol Jiṅ-gir ('Jenghiz Khān.')

In the outer court-yard are *Vaiçravana*, *s*Prin-*g*sel-ma, and the four *Mahārājas* (of the quarters). These were consecrated by the reverend holy Lāmas and the lucky governor[1] P'ag-mo-gru-pa.

A (hidden) treasury[2] of books, gold, silver, copper and iron, is near 'the leafy pillar'[3] and is the means of (? gratifying) every wish of the four quarters of the world. Near 'the snake-headed pillar' is a treasury of bewitching spells[4] which soften the injuries of war and rebellion. Near the lion-headed pillar is a hidden charm-letter[5] for cattle by which essence is introduced into food. The snake-charm of the precious Ratna-deva which is in the *Nāga*-temple below, causes the cattle to prosper. The chest of gems[6] of the precious *s*Tag-s'a[7] *deva* causes ornaments, clothes, grain and wealth to increase. And the begging bowl of Vaidūrya (*lapis lazuli*) which is in the *Nāga*-temple gives abundant riches. Again, numerous treasures are in the right thigh of the Yakṣa Nāga Kuvēra, below the great *maṇḍala*.

At the time when the will of the king (Sroṅ-*b*tsan) was concealed in the hidden treasury, prayers were recited upon the advantages of repairing the *gandhakūṭa* in the future. And according to the prophecy, the *Yāginī* S'a*s*-pai, by the aid of the *Ḍākinī* extracted the will '*b*Kah-K'olma from its treasury in the leafy pillar, at the time when Atīça was writing a history of the *gandhakūṭa*. * * * * * * *

Outside the middle circular road[8] is the temple of *Tārā*[9] built by Ñag-re-riu-ch'en-*g*rag*s*. In this temple of the *Ārya* (Tārā) is the image of *Avalōkita* with the thousand arms and eyes,[10] made of bell metal, and *Maitrēya* facing the market-place,[11] both made by the reverend

1 མཐུན་རྐྱེན་སྡེ་སྲིད། *m*Tun-rkyen *s*de-srid. 2 གཏེར། *g*Ter.

3 ཀ་བ་སིན་ལོ་ཅན། Ka-ba-siṅ-lo-c'an.

4 རིགས་སྔགས་མཐུ། *d*Rigs-*s*ṅags-mt'u. 5 གཡང་ཡིག། *g*Yaṅ-yig.

6 གཟི། *g*zi.

7 རྟག་ཤ། *s*Tag-s'a literally = 'Tiger-flesh;' but it may be intended for the Nāga king '*Takṣaka*'.

8 བར་སྐོར། Bar-skor.

9 སྒྲོལ་མ་ལྷ་ཁང་། *s*gRol-ma lha-k'aṅ.

10 ཡན་རས་གཟིགས་པྱག་སྟོང་སྤྱན་སྟོང་། *s*pYan-ras-gzig*s*-p'yag-sto*ṅ* *s*pyan-sto*ṅ*.

11 ཡམ་པ་ཁྲོམ་གཟིགས། *b*Yam-pa-*k*'rom-gzig*s*.

*b*Lo-*gros*-*r*gyal-*m*ts'an. This latter image was made at the instance of king *b*Lon-gon to stay the great plagues of the market-place.[1] At first its influence (for this object) was favourable, but latterly it failed to exert any beneficial effect, or on wars and quarrels. The history of this is clearly written in the revelations of the re-incarnated Ratna-*g*liṅ-pa, the great *Paṇḍit* of *r*Ṅah-ri*s*, the great Leg*s*-*l*dan-*r*do-rje, and the head of the rosary[2] of revelation-finders S'e*s*-rab-'od-zer.

In the eastern corner of the outer circular road[3] is the stone image of (the goddess) Lo-ma-gyon-ma. This image was formerly placed on the western side to guard the hundred thousand circumambulators, from the injuries to which they are liable; but lately it was shifted to the south-east to guard against the damage done by the waters.[4]

There is also the fountain of milky nectar[5] in the north, and the monolith high as the sky[6] on the west, and the short earthy stone[7] in the centre of the *maṇḍala* (which forms the *vajrāṣana* seat of the image) of the Lord (*Jo-wo*).[8]

The *Vihāra* of Ra-sa-'p'rul-*s*naṅ (*i.e.*, Lhāsa) is the *Vajrāsana* (Buddh-Gaẏā) of Tibet. It, with all its contents, is established, not only for the benefit of Tibet, but for the good of all mankind and also of the gods. When the great lord *Atīṣa* came up from India to Tibet he saw the gods and goddesses making offerings here, in the plain of Lhāsa. The holy Lāmas, the kings, ministers and subjects of China, Tibet, Turkistan,[9] Ṇah-ri*s*, and Ya-rtse all rendered great homage to this Vihāra.

1 These plagues were probably small-pox, which still ravages Lhāsa frequently.

2 This evidently refers to the legendary revelations being accounted 108, the number of beads on a Lāma's rosary. See my *Budd. of Tibet*, pp. 202, &c.

3 སྐོར་ལམ | *s*Kor-lam.

4 Apparently the floods of the Kyid-ch'u river. Here may be the river embankment called the "Spirit mound" mentioned by Mr. Rockhill (*loc. cit*, p. 71):— "Every year in the first month, the priests of all the lama series assembling for the reading of the sacred books the Jo-K'ang carry some earth or stones and pile them up on this dyke." Though Mr. Rockhill notes that this obligation seems to hold no longer good.

5 བདུད་རྩི་འོ་མ | *b*Dud-rtsi o-ma.

6 རྡོ་རིང་གནམ | *r*Do-riṅ *g*nam. It may also mean 'Celestial' monolith, as it is the well-known bilingual edict pillar erected as a treaty between the Chinese (Celestials) and the Tibetans in 822 A.D.

7 རྡོ་ཐུང་ས | *r*Do-t'uṅ *s*a.

8 Water is said to ooze miraculously out from under the seat of the image of Jo-wo.

9 ཧོར | Hor.

The king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) ordered his grandson to offer here, always the first part of the earth and stone of any new *Vihāra* which was to be founded.

Ñaŋ-s'ai-*sp*yan, the receiver of gifts from the chieftain K'ri-ral and the minister 'Gas, made (the images of) Ku-ru and *r*Me-ru in the east, *d*Gah-wa and *d*Gah-waī-'od in the south, and residences and a temple in the north. They also founded classes of clerical persons.[1]

Ril-po Mal, king of Ya-rtse, a pure descendant of the Tibetan king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) covered the head of the precious Jo-wo with a golden crest,[2] and Prati Mal, son of the king of Ya-rtse, and the minister Çrī Kīrtti also covered the head with a golden ornament. The chief (of Ñari)[3] *m*Yaŋ and the revelation-finder Ch'*os*-kyi-*d*baŋ-p'ug, made enormous additions to the lamp-offerings. Lha-rje-*dg*e-wa-'bum rebuilt the wall of the *Vihāra*, and obtained a round Chinese roof for the building. The translator Zaŋ-*m*k'ar made a temple-*caitya*[4] on the east and filled it with many images.

*s*Gam-po-*z*la-'od-*g*z'on-nu gave a back-curtain.[5] The master *s*Gom-ts'ul rendered notable service. He obtained '*g*Ro-wai-*m*gon-po, of the Z'aŋ family of *g*Yu-*b*rag who initiated him into the assembly and he founded classes of *d*Mig*s*-paī ts'al-guŋ. '*g*Ro-*m*gon-ch'*os*-*r*gyal offered pearls, corals and priests' robes.[6] Sa-*s*kya *b*zaŋ-po, the predecessor of the great Sa-*s*kya lords asked the Nepalese Ara-ka-gu-i-guŋ to make for him a tapestry which he offered to the precious lord (Jo-wo) as a back-curtain for his throne. Hu-la-hu, the son of the Mongolian king who was banished to *s*Tod offered silver, the Ts'al-pa k'ri *d*pon — 'O*s*-*d*gah-*b*de-*b*zaŋ-po offered twelve big pillars and others, sixteen in all. Guru Ārya-dēva made the southern temple *caitya*, in the upper gallery. The great chief *db*Aŋ-*br*tson made the enthroned glorious *caitya* of many doors.[7] The governor P'ag-mo-*g*rub-pa-taī-swi-tu-byaŋ-ch'ub-*r*gyal-mts'an, gave most offerings. Ta-miŋ, the king of China, offered two robes[8] of pearls, and also golden offering bowls. The great religious king Tsoŋ-k'a-pa offered a hand-ornament as prophesied. * * *

1 རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྡེ། Rab-tu *b*yuŋ-waī *s*de.

2 གསེར་ཐོག། *g*Ser-t'og.

3 མངའ་བདག། *m*Nah-*b*dag.

4 གློ་འབུར། *g*Lo-'bur.

5 རྒྱབ་ཡལ།

6 སནམ་སྦྱར། *s*Nam-*s*byan.

7 ཁྲི་སྒོ་བཀྲའ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་། *k*'Ri-*s*go *b*kra-s'i*s* *s*go-maŋ, see my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 244.

8 *s*Nam-*b*yar.

The higher ranks of the people, formerly paid much respect to the *Vihāra* but latterly not so. On this account the *Jina*, Tsoŋ-k'a-pa ordered *s*Ne-*g*doŋ-goŋ-mo-ch'an-po-*db*aŋ-*g*rug*s*-pa-*r*gyal-pa-*r*gyal-*m*ts'an to restore this *Vihāra*, the *Vājrāsana* of Tibet, to its pristine splendour and adoration. The governor caused certain officials to carry out these orders.

At the feast of the show of Buddha's miracles,[1] held on the fifteenth day of the first month, great honor is paid to the assembly (of Lāmas) on the Rwa-chan benches,[2] food is offered the gods, and about 500 lamps, and robes are given to each of the images of importance, and golden-water[3] and vast offerings of the best kind and of goods and men are made unto the great Lord (Jo-wo). * * * * * A golden crown is given to the great precious Lords and a silver one to 'the great pitying one.' Also to the Lord a silver begging-bowl and a horse-headed silver wine-cup[4] extracted from a hidden treasury. Also stones from the hidden treasury of Ñaŋ-ser-*s*man are brought up and set upon the pavement instead of the old ones in the courtyard and in the circular road. * * * * * There was no one who equalled the Jina Tsoŋ-kā-pa in exertions at turning 'the noble wheel of the Law,' at Lha-*l*dan (Lhāsa) during the later times.

Again, *sp*Yan-*s*ŋa-cho's-kyi-grag*s*-pa poured praises on the throne of the Lord, the omniscient *b*Sod-nam*s*-*r*gya-mts'o gave a golden tapestry[5] (as a canopy) for the Lord's head. Yon-ten-ch'o*s*-kyi-*r*gyal-po offered a silver *maṇḍala* made by *s*Toŋ-rwa-c'an-pa, and a golden one by his son Buddha-s'rī. The re-incarnated Dug-pa[6] (saint) Ñag-*db*aŋ-nor-bu replaced (in a vertical position) the slanting image of 'the great pitying one,' the self-sprung pentad. 'Gah-z'ig-raŋ-s'ug*s* remodelled 'K'roŋ*s*-'*g*ro-*r*gyal which was said to be broken to pieces. The reverend Ch'os-*r*je of *s*Tag-luŋ and *s*Kyid-s'oŋ-*s*de-pa-*bk*ra-s'i*s*-rab-t'unmoŋ remodelled the loose golden crown of the Lord (Jo-wo). The omniscient Yoŋ-ten-*r*gya-*m*ts'o renewed the back of the Lord's throne.

1 ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་གདུང་པའི་དུས་ཆེན། Ch'o 'P-rul *b*stan-pai-dus ch'en. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 503.

2 དགའ་ལྡན་ཁྲི་རྭ་ཅན། *d*Ge-'dun k'ri-rwa chān. These benches are close to the Jo-wo image; See my *Buddh. of Tibet*.

3 Water into which pieces of gold are put.

4 Though this cup is said to smell of wine no wine is now ostensibly put into it.

5 ཟྭ་ཏེ། *b*La-bre.

6 འབྲུག་པ། '*b*Rug-pa, a sect of Lāmas.

He also painted 'the ten deeds'[1] (of Buddha) on the back curtain, the sixteen *Sthavira* on the middle 'radiant circle'[2] with molten silver, and the series of the Lāmas of the illustrious *d*Gah-*l*dan[3] with beaten gold in the inmost radiant circle, intersecting it with various gay colored jewels. The king *b*Sod-nam*s*-rab-*br*ten of 'Jaŋ*s*-sa-t'am built a two storied house with a Chinese roof of silver. * * * * * * The government of the palace of d'Ga*h*-ldan renewed the gallery[4] and repaired the crown, and replaced both the outer and inner receptacles for the offerings also the hangings, canopies and *maṇḍalas*.

* * * * * *

The six great Mongolian hordes with all the chief and petty lords, king Ju-naŋ, the chieftain Huŋ-t'ai-ji and the king K'ar-k'a-t'u-s'ab-t'u, collected about one thousand silver pieces and made a votive *maṇḍala* of them.

Innumerable instances also have happened of rich persons of the upper and lower *m*Do provinces who have offered golden votive bowls (as lamps), especially the chief *g*Yaŋ.

The palace of *d*Gah-*l*dan also added a new golden ornament above 'the four brothers Maitrēya'[5] and regilded the lords of the fans,[6] and the upper part of the Nāga king. Queen Da-la*s*-gun-ji gave many and frequent gifts to the Vihāra and to the priests.

In short, every one high or low, from the vast middle land of Magadha and *Vajrāsana*, and from the great land of *Vaiçāli*[7] to this side of the inconceivably great ocean gave offerings according to their means, so that it is impossible to describe all in detail.

The virtue accruing to any one who merely sees this Vihāra and its contents is thus described by the king (Sroŋ-*b*tsan) himself. "Once seeing it, closes the door of hell against that person. To see it twice, the person shall acquire the form of a man or god (in next rebirth) and ultimately obtain deliverance. To see it thrice overcomes 'the three poisons'[8] and gains 'the three bodies' (Tri-kāya)."

1 མཛད་བཅུ། *m*dsad-*b*'cu, see Csoma's Analysis in *Asiatic Researches* XX, pp. 286, &c.

2 ཆོད་སྐོར། 'Od-skor.

3 དཔལ་རེ་བོ་དགའ་ལྡན། *d*Pal-ri-bo *d*gah-*l*dan.

4 མདའ་ཡབ། *m*Dah-yab.

5 བྱམས་པ་མཆེད་བཞི། *b*Yam*s*-pa *m*ch'ed-*b*z'i.

6 མངའ་གཡབས། *m*ŋah-*g*yab*s*, the ox-tail fly-whisks.

7 ཡངས་པ། Yaŋ*s*-pa.

8 The *Trividhāgni* (Dug-*g*sum), a sort of triad of original sin — Lust, Ill-will and Stupidity, (*Rāga*, *Dvēṣa*, *Mōha*) somewhat analogous to our Devil, the world and the flesh. See my *Buddh. of Tibet*, p. 115.

The virtue accruing from hearing (about this temple), is such that a beast hearing of it, even in a dream, shall lose its bestial body (in its next rebirth) and so get nearer to the path of deliverance. If a god or man hears of it, he shall be delivered.

The virtue of merely remembering[1] it is such that anyone who recollects the good qualities of the tutelaries, becomes cleansed from the (accumulated) defilement of five thousand *kalpas*, and obtains endurance over human difficulties.

And anyone who circumambulates this temple with a pure heart, sows seed which shall procure him the grades of the *Dasabhumi*,[2] and 'the omniscient wisdom.'[3] Even the revered (Indian) land of the *Vajrāsana* (Buddh-Gayā) and the shrine of the hidden treasure of the Ḍākinīs in Udyāna are not more important than this (temple). And anyone who comes and sees this temple and makes offerings here will find that it is equivalent to a pilgrimage and offerings to these famous (Indian) shrines.

The virtue of repairing the outside or interior of the temple, and of offering golden water, lamps, food for the gods, clothes, hangings and tapestry—(the virtue of this) is great beyond description. Such persons certainly shall be holy lords of men and gods, and shall ultimately attain the supreme *Mahābōdhi*.

The (image of) the chief god 'Munīndra' was brought to this snowy land from China by *r*Gya-ch'en-*d*pag-ya*s*-leg*s*-pa, and was placed in the bewitching[4] Ra-mo-ch'e. The golden image of Çākya Muni, obtained from China as a (dowry) offering, was formerly kept in the Ra-mo-ch'e temple, but during the war (Tibeto-Chinese) it was removed to Lho-*s*go-me-lon*g*-c'an (for safety). Lately it was transferred to the central building of the temple of Ra-sa, while (the image of) Mi-*b*skyod-rdo-rje was placed in its stead at Ra-mo-ch'e.

The Tibetan king (Sron*g*-*b*tsan) on sending his minister *m*Gar and other ambassadors to Nepal to invite the Nepalese princess K'ri-*b*tsun an incarnation of the Lady (goddess) Khro-*g*ñer-c'an, to be his wife, she prayed her father, the king of Nepal, saying, "O father, pray let me have Çākya Muni as your (dowry-) gift, in order that he may guide me

1 རན་པ། *d*Ran-pa.

2 ས་བཅུ། Sa-*b*c'u. The ten stages in the passage of a Bōdhisat to the Buddha-ship.

3 ཀུན་མཁྱེན་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས། Kun-*m*k'en-pai ye-s'es.

4 རྒྱ་གཏབ། *r*Gya-*b*tab; to pronounce or cast a spell. The College of necromancy at Lhāsa.

in my journey to the barren land of Tibet." He replied "This (image of) Çākya Muni was the work of the (divine) artist *Viçvakarma*, who made it from the various gems given by the king of the gods. This image imparts great blessings, and it was consecrated by the *Jina* himself." So saying he gave it to her. The image represents the *Jina* in his eighth year, and his dispenser of gifts was the king of the gods, and Buddha himself consecrated the image.

It is said that the images of Tāra as "the defender from the eight Fears"[1] in sandal-wood, and of 'the Great Pitying One' as Sems-ñid-ŋal *g*so are not at present here.

E-pa-*d*kon-*m*ch'og-p'an-*b*de made two *caityas* containing the relics of 'the model pair'[2] (of Buddha's disciples) and the eight intimate disciples (of Buddha),[3] during the time of the king. (He also made) *Vajrapāṇi* on the right and the angry-fiend *db*Yug-*s*ŋon-c'an on the left of the door, and (he) also consecrated the *Jina* Tsoŋ-k'a-pa's image. In the courtyard he made the thousand Buddhas, (representations of) 'the twelve deeds (of Buddha),'[4] and the side figures of the ten (or 16)[5] *Sthavira*. Outside the courtyard is *m*Gon-po-se-doŋ-ma made from rose-tree instead of axle-tree, though some call it *m*Gon-po-ved-*d*mar. * * * *

*d*Pon-sa-lho-ŋos-ma asked the reverend, *d*Pal-lhun-pa where she shall be reborn after her death, and he replied that she will be reborn as a crocodile, but that this disaster may be averted by the assembly of priests reciting the Sūtra of the Medical Buddhas during the celebration of the Ch'o-'p'rul. She paid the expenses of this recital for six days and by the virtue of these acts her birth as a crocodile was averted.

[A leaf, the 20th, is here wanting in my text and the 21st commences with a description of the Tibetan Potala, the Vatican of the Lāmaist pope.]

The lofty hill of *Avalōkita* looks like an elephant lying in its stall.

1 སྒྲོལ་མ་འཇིགས་པ་བཅུད་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པ། *sg*Rol-ma 'jigs-pa *bcu*gyad las skyob-pa. See my art. in *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67.

2 མཆོག་བྲན་ । *m*Ch'og-zuŋ; namely, Çāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana. The Lāmas claim to have relics of these famous disciples, but as they also claim to have relics of the seven past Buddhas, six of whom are purely mythical, these pretensions must be taken for what they are worth.

3 འཁོར་ཉེ་བའི་སྲས་བཅུད་དོ། 'K'or ñe-baï sras *bcu*gyad.

4 མཛད་བཅུ ।

5 གནས་བཅུ། *g*Nas-bc'u.

Its real name is 'the Red hill'[1] or Potala. The splendour of the palace on this hill was likened by the Nepalese princess 'K'ri-*b*tsun' to that of the city of the ten-headed *rakshas* of Laṇka. There are 999 forts at the foot of the hill and 1001 on the summit, and in the centre is the palace of the king of Tibet.

In the *Vihāra* (of Potala) is some rice consecrated by the king (Sroṇ-*b*tsan) which confers great blessings, on account of the Ārya Lokeṣvara having at that time appeared before the king in a dancing posture. Here are also images of the Chinese and Nepalese princesses, prince Guṇ-ri-guṇ-*b*tsan, the ministers *m*Gar and T'on-mi, and *Mañjuçrī*, the six-faced *Yama* on the pillar. These blessed objects were consecrated by Buddha Kāṣyapa.

There are also images of 'the six-armed (fiend),'[2] the tutelary of the *Yōgi* K'yuṇ-po,[3] the eleven-headed (Avalokita), *Hayagrīva* Z'aṇ-rñiṇ-me-t'ub-ma which belonged to the kiag and his two wives, T'aṇ-*s*kurwa-*s*greṇ-me-t'ub-ma of *Avalōkita*. The king (Sroṇ-*b*tsan) sent the monk A-ka-ra-ma-ti to Nepal. He arrived in a dense forest between India and Nepal where he saw a *sandal*-tree emitting rays of light in the ten directions. This tree he cut into four pieces which turned into the four brothers, Ārya 'pawati,' Ārya '*db*U-k'aṇ,' Ārya ''Jah-ma-li,' and Ārya Lokēçvarat, the last of whom was invited to become the receiver of gifts[4] from the Tibetan king. He therefore came (to Tibet) and abode at 'the red hill, and at a later time he was invited by *s*Kyid-s'od-*s*de-pa-*g*yul-*r*ygal-nor-bu to *g*Z'is-ka-*b*rag-*d*kar.

Long afterwards, Se-ch'en-t'ai-ji of T'u-med, invaded many villages in Tibet. At that time the troops of the heaven-appointed religious king *bs*Tan-'dsin, of great fortune, were victorious; and brought under their power all the kingdoms of Tibet (proper) and Great Tibet (Eastern Tibet). When *d*Gah-*l*dan and the religious king *bs*Tan-'dsin held the Government, the receiver of gifts, the sun (the Dalai Lāma), and the moon (the king) ruled over the entire country, and the prophecy of the great *Guru* Padmasambhava, the sage of O-di-ya-na (Udyāna), was fulfilled. The land was blessed by the virtue of the *Kālacakra* (doctrine) on the glorious day of the Nag-pa *caitya* in the beginning of the year of the *Kālacakra*, in the female wood-fowl year of Sa-kyoṇ.

And the foundation of the great palace (of Potala) was laid in the first festival of the middle month of Za-ga (Baisāk), and under most illustrious auspices. The queen Da-la*s*-gun-ji with her wonted zeal and perseverance brought from a foreign country the queen *m*Ts'o-k'ri-s'ag,

[1] དམར་པོ་རི། *d*Mar-po ri.

[2] ཕྱག་དྲུག་པ། *p'*yag-drug-pa.

[3] ཁྱུང་པོ། =*Skt.* Garuḍa.

[4] མཆོད་གནས། *m*Ch'od-*g*nas.

who admitted the precious image into communion, and at the same time a letter arrived from the reverend Mañjuçrī and *s*Ba-bal-ch'e-s'i-pa-gan-ja.

When the precious image (of Avalōkita) was removed from Lhā-*l*dan to Potala, all the clergy and populace gave large offerings, which I myself witnessed. Even the gods gave offerings, as was seen in vissions. Flowers rained (from heaven) and rainbows filled the sky with splendid rays. The image of the precious one (Avalōkita) was placed in the palace of 'the entirely victorious one on all sides'[1] so as to be the lord of all the images and it was attended 'by the noble burning ocean of virtue.'[2]

This catalogue, mirroring clear as crystal, the transformed *Vihāra* of Lha-*l*dan, the Vajrāsana encircled by snowy mountains, has been written by Nag-*d*baŋ-*b*lo-zaŋ-*r*gya-*m*ts'o, the fearless one armed with the doctrine,[3] who is descended from the race of Zahor and once (in a former birth) the minister of Pa'g-mo-*g*rub-pa the king of *g*Nam-*bs*kos' and (formerly) the great Sah-la-pa of the Indian royal race, at the palace of *d*Gah-*l*dan-*p*'yog*s*-t'ams-ca'd-las-*r*nam-par-*r*gyal-ba, at the request of the stewards in charge of the images of the *Vihāra*, at the beginning of the year of Sa-kyoŋ, in the Chinese court, on a most auspicious day of the first glorious part of the course of the zodiac around the constellation Ñe,[4] Vagenḍras'seyo! Maŋgalaṁ.

1 ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ། *p*'Yog*s* t'ams-c'ad la*s* *r*nam*s*-par-*r*gyal-ba. This is the Chapel-royal of the Grand Lāma.

2 དགེ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་གྱུན་ཏུ་འབར་བ། *d*Ge-*m*ts'an *r*gya-mts'oī *d*pal-kun-tu 'bar-ba.

3 འཇིགས་མེད་གོ་ཆ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ལང་ཚོ 'Jig*s*-med go-ch'a t'ub-bstan laŋ-tsô.

4 ཉེ།

Note on Viṣṇupur Circular Cards.—*By* HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ.

A pack of the circular Viṣṇupur Cards consists of 120 pieces, divided into 10 groups of 12 each. The groups are named after the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu; *viz*:—(1) the Fish, (2) the Tortoise, (3) the Boar, (4) the Man-lion, (5) Buddha, (6) the Dwarf, (7) Paraçurāma, (8) Rāma, (9) Vala-rāma, (10) Kalkī. The first five of these incarnations have four hands, and the other five two hands. The kings, or rather the *Avatāras*, are distinguished from their ministers by having two attendants and being set in a 'room' or frame. The ministers are represented by the *Avatāras* without these accompaniments. Besides kings and ministers there are ten plain cards in each group, with one to ten 'pips' on each. In groups presided over by four-handed *Avatāras* the highest value is given to the ten, and so downwards, the ace having the lowest value. In groups presided over by two-handed *Avatāras*, the reverse order prevails, the ace being the highest card and the ten the lowest.

Of all the incarnations Rāma is regarded as the most powerful; and he wins in a group of five players ten cards, two from each player, as explained below.

The minor cards of the Fish incarnation are marked with fish, those of the Tortoise with tortoises, those of the Boar with conches, those of the Man-lion with discs (*chakra*), those of Buddha with lotuses, those of the Dwarf with waterpots (*kamaṇḍalu*), those of Rāma with arrows, those of Bala-rāma with clubs, and those of Kalkī with swords.

The number of players is five. The pack is first shuffled by the dealer, and the cards are cut by the right hand player. The dealer deals four cards at a time, beginning with his right hand player, and six rounds are dealt. If there is no misdeal, that is, if all the five get 24 cards each, the play commences; if not there is a fresh deal.

The player who has got Rāma leads. He plays along with Rāma a plain card, and such is the power of Rāma that he wins both the tricks, that is ten cards. He has the privilege of leading again or ordering some other person to lead. Whoever wins always enjoys this

privilege of either leading again or calling a lead. As long as there are kings and ministers in the leader's hand they must be played. After the kings and ministers of a hand are exhausted, plain cards may be led, though other players may have kings and ministers in their hands.

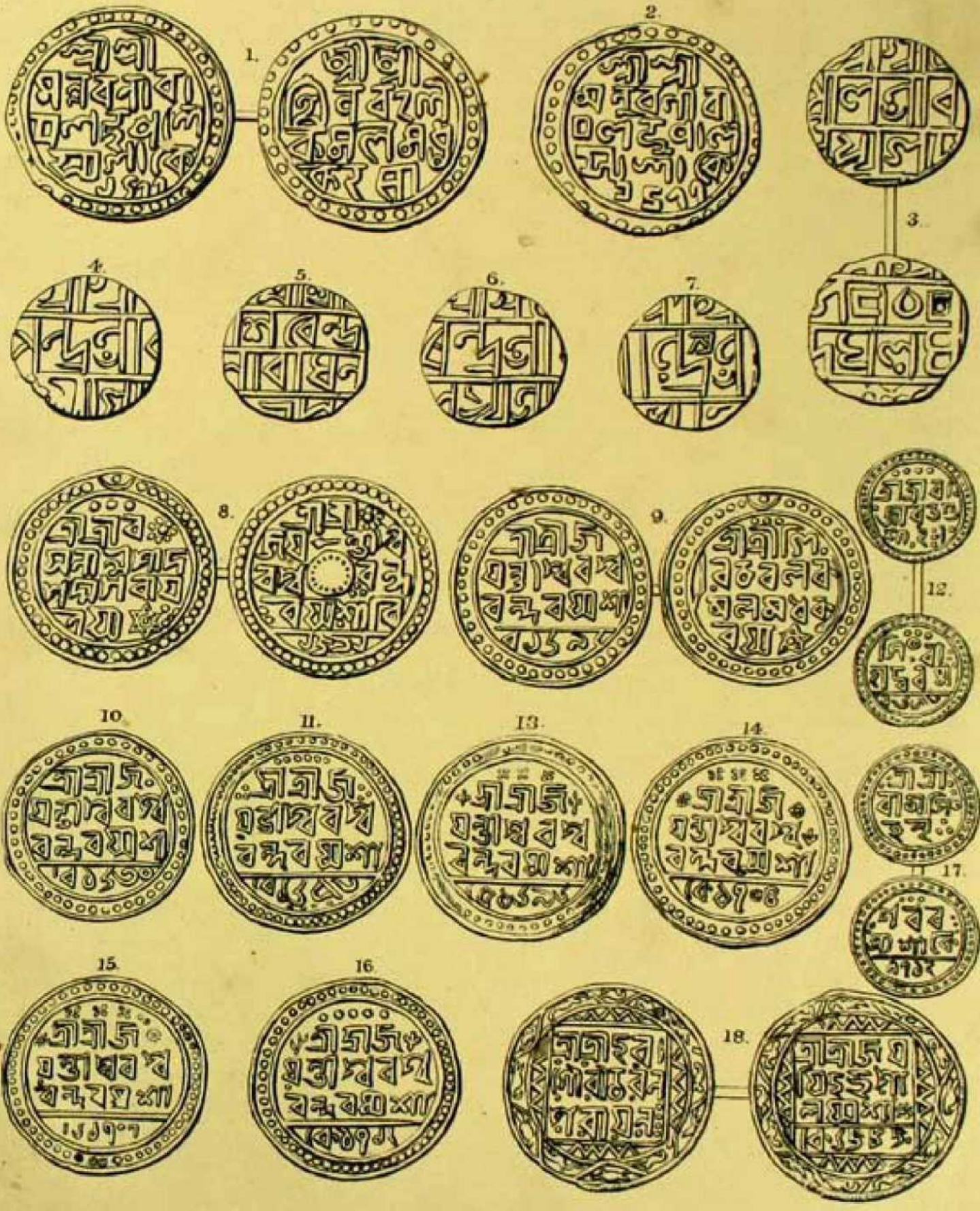
After the game is over the cards of each player are counted. The player who has more than 24 cards, gets one pice, or one anna, or one rupee, according to the stake, for each card above 24; and one who has less than 24, pays at the same rate.

Antiquity of the Game.

Tradition has it that the Malla kings of Viṣṇupur invented this game when they were in the zenith of their glory. The Malla Rājās have left behind them an era of which 1201 corresponds to 1895 A.D., and I fully believe that the game was invented about eleven or twelve hundred years before the present date. The reasons for my supposing so are these:

(1) In the orthodox list of the ten incarnations Buddha's place is the ninth. But in the order of the cards, he has the fifth place assigned to him, or rather, he is one of the first five, having four hands. The antiquity of the orthodox list goes back to Jayadēva in the 12th and to Kṣēmēndra in the 11th century. These cards must therefore have been invented before the formation of the orthodox list, at a time when Buddha was regarded as an incarnation, but held a place in the list different from that now assigned to him. The reason for giving him the fifth place may be well surmised. Buddha, as represented in the card, is an unformed mass, with only a human head and human hands. He may, therefore, very well come between the Man-lion, which is half man and half animal, and the dwarf, who is a complete man, but not fully developed. And so in the gradual development from the lowest animal to the most fully developed human being, as represented in the list of incarnations, Buddha may very well occupy the fifth place.

(2) The plain cards of Buddha are represented by lotuses. The cards must therefore have been invented when Buddha was known as *Padmapāṇi*, and the lotus was the most striking of his emblems; and this was when the Mahāyāna School was in the ascendant in Bengal, that is, during the reign of the Pāla Kings from 800 to 1200 A.D., or a little earlier. I do not think there are three Bengalis, at the present moment, who can explain why the lotus is depicted on the minor cards of Buddha.



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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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